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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.  
FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

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## KALAT.

# A MEMOIR ON THE COUNTRY AND FAMILY OF THE AHMADZAI KHANS OF KALAT.

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(IN TWO PARTS.)

FROM A MS. ACCOUNT BY THE AKHUND MUHAMMAD SIDDI, WITH NOTES TAKEN  
FROM OTHER MANUSCRIPTS, AS WELL AS FROM PRINTED BOOKS.

BY

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# A MEMOIR ON THE COUNTRY AND FAMILY OF THE AHMADZAI KHANS OF KALAT.

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(IN TWO PARTS.)

FROM A MS. ACCOUNT BY THE AKHUND MUHAMMAD SIDIK, WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES  
FROM OTHER MANUSCRIPTS, AS WELL AS FROM PRINTED BOOKS.

BY

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## PREFACE.

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THE manuscript, of which the following narrative is a translation, was given me by Khan Sahib Rasul Baksh, the Mukhtiarkar of Tatta, and as I had been collecting information regarding the tribes inhabiting Baluchistan, and the Ahmadzai family to which the Khans of Kalat belong, I determined to make the translation and use parts of my own information for notes to elucidate the narrative. I was also indebted to the Khan Sahib for the loan of a copy of the *Tafhat-ul-Kirán*, from which I have been allowed to make translations, for reference, with regard to the History of Sind as well as of Kalat itself.

Mulla Muhammad Sidik was the descendant of a family long settled in Kalat, the members of which had been the hereditary ministers of the Khans. During the reign of Mir Mehrab, owing to the ill-advised attachment shown by that Khan towards Mulla Dad Muhammad Ghilzai, the Sardars of Baluchistan considered the advisability of deposing the Khan, and electing Muhammad Sidik in his place. The latter was also known (unfavourably) to the British authorities, when our forces marched towards Kandahar to reinstate the Shah, Shuja'-ul-Mulk, on the throne of Kabul.

Muhammad Sidik's narrative is disappointing, as he ought to have been able to give a much more detailed account, from his position with reference to the affairs of the Kalat State, than he has done. He is altogether silent as to the sources of revenue that were at the disposal of the Khans, and at times it appears as if there are breaks in the thread of his narrative.

The latter has been compressed in translation; the speeches, laudatory notices of the Khans, couplets from Persian poems, and verses of the Koran, with which the original abounds, have been omitted and the statements verified from other sources as far as it has been practicable. Some of the dates have been obtained from the seals of the Khans attached to sanads which I was permitted to examine in 1893 by the kindness of Mr. H. S. Barnes, I.C.S., when Revenue Commissioner in Baluchistan, and though it was not at that time possible to make a systematic search, still there were indications to show that an investigation of the sanads and rakams in the possession of the families of importance in Baluchistan would probably afford materials which, combined with a search among writings of the various historians (of India) under the Emperors of Delhi, might enable an authentic account being drawn up of the History of Kalat and of its dependencies.

A genealogical tree of the Khans of Kalat is attached; it is considerably more detailed than those generally met with, as the latter begin with Mir Abdulla. Portions of this tree have been verified from information obtained independently, and there are grounds for believing it to be correct. It is also proposed to add a genealogical tree of the Mirwari clan, of which the Ahmadzais are a junior branch, if the latter can be drawn up in time.

References made to books are so mentioned in the notes, and such of the latter, the sources of which are not specified, have been drawn up from information collected by me.



The narrative does not deal with the transactions that took place between the late Khan Mir Khudadád, and the British authorities, as these are better treated of elsewhere.

The following manuscripts have been used in drawing up this Memoir :—

*History of the Khans of Kalat and Baluchistan, by Akhund Muhammad Sidik—(Persian).*

*Tarikh-i-Nadiri—(Pers. A. S., Bengal Lib., Cal.).*

*Tarikh-i-Sind, Mir Ma'asum Bhakari—(Persian).*

*Chachnamah—(Persian).*

*Tarikh-i-Tahiri—(Persian).*

The last were lent me by Seiad Sabar Ali Shah, of Tatta, a grandson of the author of the Tufhat-ul-Kirām.

I have to thank Kāzi Jallal-ud-din, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Settlement Officer, Quetta and Peshin, for the loan of a fine lithographed copy of the Rauzat-us-Safah, and for translating notices of Mekran from Ibn-i-Khaldun.

The following books, published by the Asiatic Society, Bengal (*Bibliotheca Indica* text) have also been used to draw up the notes and appendices :—

*Badshahnamah.*

*Alamgirnamah.*

Also translations of books not available in text, and other books as well, which are mentioned in course of the work.

Geo. P. TATE,  
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## KALAT.

### A MEMOIR ON THE COUNTRY AND FAMILY OF THE AHMADZAI KHANS OF KALAT.

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#### PART I.

The configuration of the country known as Baluchistan, physically, is a series of parallel ranges enclosing between them long valleys, very narrow in comparison with their length (the soil in which consists of light clays or loess) which are for the most part capable of being highly cultivated. Situated in these valleys are still to be seen traces of a much higher state of civilization than that which exists at the present day; and at one time these valleys were evidently inhabited by a race of cultivators to whose skill and industry the karezes that at present exist and furnish means of irrigation, must for the greater part be attributed.

In the eastern portion of Baluchistan, that is, in the plateau upon which Kalat itself is situated, the mountain ranges are a prolongation in an approximate south-westerly direction of the Suleiman mountains, and these form the eastern face of the plateau, the western slopes of which are a continuation of the Khwaja Amrân or Khojak Range, emanating from the Toba plateau. In Makran, the strike of the mountain system is entirely different: offshoots of the ranges that form slopes of the plateau of Kalat gradually trend outwards towards the west, until they extend across Makran almost due west, forming a belt of parallel ranges, about 3° of latitude in width. This belt of mountains is afterwards prolonged across the southern half of Persia, and the Makran ranges also form a connecting link between the Kalat plateau and that of Sarhadd, south-east of Kirman. Here the ranges turn towards the north-west and trend in the direction of Persian Khurassan.

The axis of the drainage throughout the country of Baluchistan is, with a very few exceptions, at right-angles with the strike of the hills. The aspect of the country is wild, the valleys, except in certain favoured localities, are open and bare, and the hills that rise on either side are destitute of much vegetation, and are for the most part composed of bare rock, with little or no soil on their slopes.

All routes of communication that traverse the country in a transverse direction to the strike of the hills are of necessity difficult, as they follow the beds of streams, meeting with abrupt changes in the general level owing to rapids; and, as frequently happens, when a stratum of rock harder than the rest in the vicinity is met with in the stream, the channel becomes very narrow, and frequently pools of water of considerable depth are to be met with at these narrow places or *tangis*. The passes that occur at the head of the streams, and which lead from one valley to the next, are also more or less difficult. Even where the natural difficulties are not great, the streams are subject to floods after a few hours' rain, that are most destructive in their action. The valleys, however, that lie between the parallel hill ranges merge often insensibly into one another, and following as they do the strike of the hills, the watersheds that separate the stream basins are so insignificant, as frequently liable to be overlooked by an unobservant traveller; and as the roads along the valleys pass over soil, except in parts, the going is good and a higher rate of speed can be maintained, with little hardship to the animals, saddle or transport, that may be used.



Starting from Quetta, and proceeding westwards into the valley of "Kahnak," situated between the Mashelak range to the west and the mass of Chahiltan to the east, it is possible by keeping to the prolongation of this valley in a direction a little west of south, known as the Shirin Ao (sweet water) valley, and leaving the localities of Mastung and Mangachar to the east, and only a short distance from the road, to reach Surab (about 140 miles by this route distant from Quetta) without once crossing any prominent watershed, the road traversing a succession of valleys. From Surab many roads diverge: one continues due south by Khusdar, the ancient capital of the country, and thence to Zidi and Kappar (where there are the traces of ancient lead mines) into the head of the valley drained by the Habb River, a stream which falls into the sea about 16 miles to the west of Karachi. This route follows the stream to Karachi, and it was once well-known and frequented by merchants from Kandahar: it is still known as the "Patani Vat." Another route leads from Khusdar, a little to the west of south, to Wad, the head-quarters of the Minghal tribes, and descends from the Kalat plateau by the Baran Lak Pass to the low-lying country of Las Bela, and passing through the town of Las Bela itself continues to Sonmiáni, a small town on the sea-coast of this State, which was at one time the scene of a brisk trade with Bombay, but which is now deserted and has sunk to the level of a fishing village. The route by the Baran Lak is known as the "Kohan Vat." From Khusdar a road leads to Nal, the head-quarters of the Bizanjau tribe, and the residence of the Chief. A low ridge forms the watershed between the Nal and Mashkai Valleys but offers no obstacle to the traveller, and continuing down the latter valley, the head of the great Kolwah Valley is reached, and traversing this open valley and its prolongation westwards the road continues over a length of almost 200 miles into Kasr Kand in Perso-Baluchistan. Returning to Surab, another route is found diverging westwards to Gidar, situated in the same plain as Surab itself, and about 20 miles distant from the latter. The route continuing westwards crosses a low kotal into the Shireza Valley, and thence, with no obstacle of any sort intervening, it leads into the Rakshan Valley and to Panjgur, and further on to Bampur in Persian Baluchistan.

The Kalat plateau is lofty, but gradually decreases in altitude southwards from the town of Kalat, in the vicinity of which the valleys attain their maximum elevation above sea-level. With the exception of certain localities, such as Mastung and Kalat itself, where there is a Tajik population (called Dehwar, or possessors of fixed villages), the inhabitants are nomadic in their habits and migrate to the low-lying country of the Kachhi during the winter, and return to the higher valleys on the approach of summer. But in the low-lying valleys of Makran the population is fixed, while the hilly districts are in the possession of tribes who follow a pastoral life, and who are known as "Koh, Baluch."

Makran, though at present under the Khan of Kalat, was only acquired comparatively recently, and had been for centuries quite distinct under its own rulers; though the latter were not powerful enough to maintain their independence, but were generally subject to Kirman, and the various families or dynasties that held that country.

In Kej there are numerous karezes which are called Kausi, Bahmani, etc., and which are said to have been named after the ancient Persian monarchs of those names; and there is a quaint legend current there, that the monarchs of Persia in ancient times deported their refractory subjects into the country in the vicinity of Kej, and employed them in excavating karezes to improve this part of their Empire. The Persian Empire included the country as far east as the valley of the Indus; and it is interesting to note, in connection with the legend just alluded to, that more than one of the tribes that are found at this time settled in the hills that form the western boundary of the valley of the Indus in the direction of Baluchistan, bear names resembling those which appear in the lists of Scythian tribes whom Darius the Achmenecan transported into the eastern frontiers of his Empire on account of their turbulence. And there are other tribes who are to this day known by names little changed from those met with in the writings of the ancient geographers, the possessors of which were at one time powerful and well-known tribes located upon the

western limits of Persia, as well as in that country itself. The configuration of the country, the easy communications existing along the valleys running into those situated between the mountain ranges of Persia itself, would facilitate such migrations, and the language spoken is at the present day a corrupted form of the Pehlevi, the ancient language of the Persians.

The accounts preserved of the march of Alexander's army through Makran (Gedrosia) give very little information by which his route can be traced, but from the little that can be gleaned, it appears that he followed the route that still exists from Lower Sind into Kej, by way of Las Bela, through the Kolwa Valley, which is distant about 60 miles (500 stadia) from the coast and parallel in its direction to the latter. Arrian states that Alexander supplemented the provisions he was able to collect in the vicinity of Rambakia, the capital of the Horitai (the ancient inhabitants of the country) by dates; and Strabo goes further and states that the troops extracted the pith, which is to be found in the crown of the date palm,<sup>1</sup> and used it as food. This is still done by the Makranis at the present day. Around Kej there are extensive groves of date palms, and none are met with further east than the head of the Kej Valley in any considerable numbers. From the account preserved by Arrian of the voyage of the fleet under Nearkhos from the mouth of the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf, it is evident that the names of the physical features of the coast remain unaltered to the present day. The Hingol river was called by him the Toméros: at its mouth the ground was marshy, and along the coast at the present day, wherever it has not been destroyed, the mangrove flourishes in the marshy or low-lying tracts subject to inundation and within the influence of tides. In the Baluch dialect spoken in Makran, the mangrove is called "Tamar" or "Timar" and it is not unlikely that this was given by mistake in reply to a question as to the name of the river (whose mouth was perhaps pointed out to the informant) by some one of the captives taken in the fight between the soldiers of Nearkhos and the inhabitants of the fishing village in the vicinity<sup>2</sup> of which mention is made in the narrative. Pliny in his work mentions another river in connection with the "Toméros" (the Arosapes), and at this present day, one of the feeders of the Hingol River, which joins it only a short distance above the Hinglaz shrine, is called the Ara: this drains the Ara plain, and as the word Ap (Baluchi for water) is also used in the sense as we use the word drainage, the form "Aroiap" would mean the drainage from, or of, the Ara plain, and hence the Arosapes of Pliny. The country of Harmozeia, mentioned in the narrative of the voyage as situated on the River Anamis, is Hormuz; the ancient town of this name was situated on the mainland at the mouth of the Minab River, until the great raid of the Moghuls in the 13th century, when the inhabitants fled to the island upon which the Portuguese afterwards built the fort and trading station of Hormuz. Rambakia, the capital of the Horitai or Oreitai, is mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (about 400 years subsequent to the march of Alexander's army across Gedrosia or Makran) as being the city where the king resided. It was seven days' journey (for caravans) from the small port of Oraia situated at the mouth of a river large enough to admit ships, which was probably Kalamat. The country around Rambakia, in addition to corn-produced wine, rice and dates. And this strengthens the presumption that Rambakia was situated not far from the locality at present known as Kej. Corn is grown around Kej, and in its vicinity large crops of rice are grown, the date palm is cultivated extensively; and wine was probably the fermented juice of the date. Lastly the distance from Kej to Kalamat agrees with that given in the account alluded to, as the latter can be

<sup>1</sup> The date palm is grown round the edges of fields, and when it has attained its full size it prevents, by its shade, the rapid evaporation of water with which the fields are irrigated. The general appearance of the palms at a little distance is that of a great mass of foliage, apparently a jungle. In their possessions in Northern Africa, which adjoin the desert, the French settlers also have grown date palms around their fields to prevent the rapid evaporation of water, which would take place, if the surface of the cultivation lay exposed to the unbroken force of the rays of the sun. The fruit of the date palm also rarely fails, and thus its cultivation affords a two-fold benefit to the agriculturist.

<sup>2</sup> In his ancient geography of India, the late Sir Alexander Cunningham derives the name Toméros from Tongabhera, a point on the route to the Hinglaz shrine, whence Rama was obliged to turn back in his attempt to reach that shrine with his army. He also calls the Hingol the Aghor river. The name Aghor is that of a halting place below the Hinglaz shrine; and the name Tongabhera does not exist in the vicinity. There is a gorge through which the river flows above Hinglaz, but "tankh" is the same as our word "gorge," and may be met with on every stream in Baluchistan where the feature occurs. As the names in the vicinity have remained unaltered, the name of Tongabhera, if it had ever existed, might also be expected to be met with.



easily reached from Kej in seven marches, even by the longer of the two roads by Kolwa and the Bhasul River.

Of the tribes met with by Alexander's army in its progress westwards, the Arabies first, and then the Oreitai or Horitai, nothing is known for certain: though a trace of the name of the former may, perhaps, linger in that of the Habb River, and in the name of the hills east of Kalat itself, known at the present day as the Harboi.

The other tribe, the Oreitai or Horitai, may, however, be represented by the Hots, a tribe to be found at this present day in Kech, and between this place and Bahu Kalat in Persian territory. They are universally credited with being the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. None of the legends mention any other tribe or people as being settled in that country before the Hots; and the latter are spoken of as having owned the country at one time up to the confines of Las Bela, and Ormarah was in their hands as well. The Hots themselves claim to be a race distinct from the others such as the Rinds, and the various Baluch tribes inhabiting the country now.

Punu, the hero of the romance of "Sassi and Punu," was, it is generally believed, the son of the Hot Chief of Kej (which was the head-quarters of that tribe) and he is said to have met Sassi on the occasion of his visit to Sind, for purposes of trade, with the caravans belonging to his father. The Miri Fort in Kej is known as "Punu's Miri."

Little information can be obtained as to the period during which the Sassanian Dynasty filled the throne of Persia, and their relations with the countries in the vicinity of their Indian Frontier.<sup>3</sup> Bahram Gur (420—438 A.D.) is believed to have made an expedition of adventure into India when he married the daughter of a king of Western India who became tributary to the Persians. The Rais of Sind, who are mentioned in the Chachnama as having extended their frontiers to include Makran, were probably vassals of the Persians, who were able to take advantage of some internal dissensions in the State of Persia to regain their independence, and the Chachnama distinctly mentions that the battle in which Rai Siharas lost his life was fought in the vicinity of Kech, in defence of his kingdom which had been invaded by the King (or Satrap) of Nimroz by order of the King of Fars.

Hormuz, son of Nushirwan, succeeded his father,<sup>4</sup> but was deprived of the throne by Bahram<sup>5</sup> who headed the successful rebellion which drove the grandson of Nushirwan to seek refuge with the Emperor Heraclius, and cast Hormuz himself into prison where he was murdered by Bindoes in 590 A.D.

Rai Siharas was succeeded by his son Rai Sahisi, who was the last of this family, and his Empire included the mountain districts of Kaikanan and Sulaiman, and Kirdan, or Kardan.

The first-named is the country now known as Shál, and the Sulaiman, the group of hills of which the Takht is the highest point.

Besides the Hots, there are two other ancient races to be found in Makran, that is, the Ját and the Med, who are believed to have entered the country from the direction of Sind, where they are to be found in considerable numbers, as well as in Las Bela. The Meds are very low down in the social scale, and are to be found pursuing the calling of fishermen and inhabiting the seaboard. The Játas are to be found a little more inland in Kolanch, a fertile little district south of Kej and upon the Dashtiari river, in the vicinity of Bahu Kalat in Persian territory. They are cultivators and camel-owners. At one time they are said to have held all the country from Las Bela to Kolwa and are described as having been possessed of a considerable amount of influence in the country.

The travels of Hiung Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, deal with countries beyond the Indus in a very meagre and unintelligible manner. Sind, as

<sup>3</sup> Except allusions to expeditions by Kai Khasrau (Kaianian) and by Nushirwan contained in passages in the Shahnamah by Firdusi. Nushirwan sent an army to invade Hindustan, and the King of this country is said to have made over the countries on the coast of the sea of Oman and bordering on Persia to the Persian Monarch.—(*Rassaf as-saffah*.)

<sup>4</sup> Hormuz A.D. 579-590 (*Gibbon's Rome*).

<sup>5</sup> In 591 A.D., Bahram was slain by Khasrau Parwez who reigned till 628 A. D., when he was deposed and murdered by his son Shiroua (Siroos).—*Ibid.*

described by him, is not the country as described in the *Periplus* and later on in the *Chachnama*, while the descriptions of the two latter leave the same impression of the country upon the mind of the reader. His description may have been, however, drawn up from information that he picked up and not from personal knowledge. His description of the country of Long-Kie-lo would make it appear that it was Makran that he was describing, when he states that "the people occupy a long valley." The great feature in that country is the long valley, the different sections of which are each known by its particular name, as Kolwahi, Kej, Tump, Mand, Peshin and Kasrkand, which are all localities (and not towns) each comprising a group of several villages and each distinct from the other; they are separate communities so to speak, and the description given by the pilgrim, that the people were "not dependent on each other" would exactly suit the conditions still existing in the country. The circumstance of his having learnt that it was "under the Government of Persia" would go to show that his visit to the countries in the vicinity of Sind took place after the death, in battle, of Rai Siharas, during the reign of his successor, Rai Sahisi and before the triumph of Brahmanism over Buddhism, which brought Chach, the Brahmin, to the throne of Sind. Hinen Tsang is supposed to have visited these countries some time in 641 A.D. and the revolution in Sind, to which allusion has just been made, is related as having taken place in about 1. A.H. (622-23 A.D.), as Chach the new ruler made an expedition to Kirman in 2 A.H. (623-24 A.D.). This last date is, from the account of the circumstances, given in the "*Chachnama*," but it is distinctly stated in this history, ("Expedition of Chach in the direction of Kirmán and the enlightening (by his presence) of the Frontiers of Makran") that at this period "Kisra bin Hormuz (Khasrau Parwez) had died, and confusion had fallen upon the kingdom, inasmuch as the (conduct of) affairs of the State was in the hands of a woman;" and that when Chach Rai became aware of the state of affairs he took advantage of the opportunity to visit the country to settle his frontier. This, it is highly probable, was a re-conquest of Makran, which had been wrested from the possession of the Rais of Sind, after the disastrous battle in which Rai Siharas himself was killed. Now Khasrau Parwez died (according to Gibbon) in 628 A.D. and between this date and that of the accession of Yezdijird in 632 A.D. (probably on the 16th June, as from this date the era of Yezdijird commences) six puppets filled the throne of Persia, one of whom, the queen Arzema, was deposed in favour of Yezdijird, and as the Arabs had at this time invaded Persia, the latter must have at once been raised to power after her deposition, which therefore took place without doubt in 632 A.D. So that, upon the authority of the *Chachnama* itself, it can be shown that Chach Rai visited Makran in about 632 and *not* in 623-24 A.D. This part of the *Chachnama* is traditional and based on orally preserved accounts, obtained after the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, and it is probable that the date itself was only a guess on the part of the original author of the work (or even one on the part of his translator).<sup>9</sup> The King of Sind, described by the Chinese pilgrim, is said to have been a Sudra, forso have the Chinese syllables been transliterated; but may he not have been a Sodha (a Rajput) belonging to a tribe who are said at one time to have existed in this country? There is not much difference in sound between Sodha and Sudra, and it is conceivable that a foreigner might be misled by the similarity of pronunciation between the words: especially as, after his travels in India itself, the Chinese pilgrim would know that there was a caste in India called Sudra, and as he frequently mistakes the bearings of one country with respect to another, it is not unlikely that he also may have confused the two words.

It appears that the actual date given in the "*Chachnama*" of the expedition to Kirman is wrong, and as the accession of Chach preceded this event the latter could not have come to the throne till considerably later than he is believed to have done, and the revolution that brought him to the throne<sup>10</sup> very

<sup>9</sup> General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*.

<sup>7</sup> In the *Chachnama* and *Tufhat-ul-Kirán*.

<sup>8</sup> Gibbon's *Rome*, page 11 (note).

<sup>9</sup> Thus when Chach is said to have returned to Armail, he made his way to Kandabil, and the narrative goes on to explain that this was Kandahar. The name Kandahar is not met with in histories written before 1200 A. D.

<sup>10</sup> In the *Tufhat-ul-Kirán* it is related that the five Kings, Rai Dewaij, Rai Siharas, Rai Sahisi, Rai Siharas II, Rai Sahisi II, reigned altogether during a period of 107 years, prior to Chach bin Sallaj, the Brahmin.

probably took place shortly after the Chinese pilgrim had visited or passed by the countries described in this part of his travels.

The "Chachnama" gives a period of 40 years for the duration of the reign of Chach himself: and if we accept this as correct he died, probably, in 41 A.H. (661-662 A.D.). Placing the accession of this king to the throne of Sind in the year following Hiuen Tsang's visit to the countries bordering on the Indus, or in 642, would still leave 19 or 20 years for the duration of the reign. And as Hiuen Tsang left China in 629 A.D. and was travelling in India from 630 A.D. to 643 (he forded the Indus on his return journey in December of this year<sup>11</sup>), if Chach had usurped the throne of Sind in 621, or 622 A.D. and reigned for 40 years, he must have been alive and ruling in 641, when the pilgrim passed through, or by, Sind; and the latter being made acquainted by his travels with the Brahminical caste could hardly have omitted to mention the fact that one of this caste was actually King of Sind; and still less likely to make a mistake in his caste which he must have done when he describes the king as being not only a Sudra or even a Sodha (Rajput) but also as one who "reverenced the law of Buddha"<sup>12</sup> which a Brahmin was not likely to have done.

The close connection between Sind and Makran, during the period of the Rais of Sind, led no doubt to the immigration of the Játs and Meds into the latter country: so that at the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Makran these two tribes had probably long been settled in this country which included the territory extending from Tiz on the west to Khusdar on the east, and these appear to have been the limits of that country for centuries afterwards.

The Chinese pilgrim was set out on his way home when the storm of the Muhammadan conquest broke over Persia, towards the countries to the east of it.

The Chachnama gives a detailed account of the attempts to invade Sind, which, under the descendants of Rai Chach, offered a stout resistance to the invaders: Makran was subjugated in 23 A.H.<sup>13</sup> (643-644 A.D.); Kirman, Seistan and Makran of the mountainous districts (i.e., between Kirman and Hormuz) were conquered in 43 A.H. (663 A.D.); Arrukhaj<sup>14</sup> (the country around Herat) and in 45 A.H. (665 A.D.)<sup>15</sup> Alkaikan was reduced. The district of Alkaikan is the same as Kaikanan to which reference has been made. But the operations were not uniformly successful—two successive attempts to capture Diwal (the celebrated port of Sind) were unsuccessful, the invaders being completely defeated and their commanders killed on each occasion. Dissensions broke out in Makran among its conquerors. Ziyad, the governor appointed to that country, was killed by the faction of the 'Alafi family, who fled to Dahir, the ruler of Sind, son of Chach. In the Khalifate of Moawiah, Abdullah bin Suwad was despatched with 4,000 men to invade Kaikanan. He was at first successful, but the people of Kaikanan having gathered together and having seized the passes among their hills, a severe struggle took place, so much so that (Abdullah, son of Sawad, together with the body of his personal guards and leading men, after doing their utmost to encourage their followers) the forces of Islam were compelled to retreat to Makran, after losing their commander in the battle. And apparently during the life-time of Ali, an army despatched by him was also not successful and retreated to Makran where news was received of his assassination and no further efforts were made to penetrate to Sind through Kaikanan. While on duty in the country in the vicinity of Kalat, the writer came across a small graveyard in the hills west of Kalat, and near the head of the Taziánáh Pass, which was called the cemetery of the Arabs, who were said to have come from towards Kirman, and to have fallen in battle. The inhabitants of the country are as a rule full of the actions of the champions of Islam, each of whom is believed to have despatched countless numbers of infidels to hell, and the various stone memorials met with in the country are supposed to mark the spots where such achievements took place.

<sup>11</sup> Ancient Geography of India by Sir A. Cunningham.

<sup>12</sup> The fact of Rai Sahisi being a Buddhist would explain the uneventful nature of his reign, the description of which gives the idea that this king was emphatically a man of peace.

<sup>13</sup> As Siyuti (Major Jarrett's translation).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

Buddhism and Hinduism, the religion that was professed by the inhabitants of Sind, the Kalat Plateau, and of Makran, was replaced by the religion of the conquering race in the districts that fell into their hands.

In 92 A.H (710-11 A.D) Hujaj bin Yusuf, who had been appointed Governor of the Iraks, selected his nephew and son-in-law, Muhammad bin Kasim bin 'Akil Thakavi, for the command of the expedition that was to effect the conquest of Sind and revenge the defeat and death of Badhail, the commander of the last invasion, before the walls of Diwal. And the army having been carefully selected, Muhammad bin Kasim marched through Makran with 6,000 horsemen, 6,000 men mounted on camels, and with 3,000 transport camels on his way to Lower Sind.<sup>16</sup> He was accompanied by Muhammad bin Harun, the ruler of Makran, and on the way completed the conquest of the country by reducing the districts of Kech (Katarbun) and Bela (Armail). At the latter place Muhammad bin Harun fell sick and died, and was buried there. Muhammad bin Kasim pushed on into Sind, where he met with complete success.<sup>17</sup>

After the conquest of Eastern Persia and Khurassan, the Arab soldiers settled in the country they had conquered. And in Makran the resemblance of the people of the country in disposition and temperament to the Arabs is due to the admixture of the Arab conquerors who settled in the country after it had been conquered, and who intermarried (as they did in Sind) with the original inhabitants. The "Rinds," who now inhabit a considerable portion of Makran, and who are also to be found in the valley of the Indus, claim to be Arabs. The term "Rind" is one which they have earned by their turbulence: and the plural of the form "Ranud" is used by the author of the "Rauzat us Safah," coupled with "Aubash"—"Ranud wa Aubash"—and appears to mean "desperadoes" or "bad characters". They claim that their ancestors were partisans of 'Ali,'<sup>18</sup> son-in-law of Muhammad, and of his sons Hasan and Husein, and that owing to their devoted attachment to the cause of this ill-fated family, they abandoned their country after the success of the Khalifs of the house of the Bani Ummaiah and made their way into Kirmán. They also claim to be the descendants of Hamza,<sup>19</sup> uncle of Muhammad, who became the father of a numerous family, the result of his intercourse with a fairy. After they arrived in Kirmán, some of their number settled in Seistan and eventually, owing to disagreements with the rulers of that country, they abandoned it and settled in Makran.

The party of Ali and his sons was very numerous and most of the troubles by which the reigns of the Khalifs of the Bani Ummaiah were disturbed, were due to the fact of both the sons of Ali, Hasan and Husein, having perished at the hands of the agents of the Khalif of that family. The reign of the Khalif Yazid, by whom the grandsons of the prophet had been murdered, was a very troubled one. Four parties were in the field; among them the partisans of the family of Ali at Kufa and the Khawárij in Kirmán are those with whom we have any concern. The people of Kufa, always fickle and untrustworthy, had lured Husein from Mekka by promises of aid, and having changed their minds had allowed him to be overwhelmed by the superior forces sent against him by Yazid, and slain at Kerbela. Three years after this event (64 A.H., 683 A.D.) a portion of them determined to avenge his death. Six thousand men assembled and marched to the plain of Kerbela,<sup>20</sup> where they passed a day and night in bewailing their transgressions towards him, and imploring forgiveness at his tomb. From Kerbela they marched towards Damascus. Yazid had died; his successor (his son) also died after a

<sup>16</sup> Tufhat-ul-Kiram.

<sup>17</sup> A. H. 93 (711-12 A.D.). The decisive battle in which Bai Dahirbin Chach was slain, was fought on 10th Ramzan 93 A.H. (23rd June 712 A.D.).

<sup>18</sup> Ali wounded by Ibn Muljam on 17th Ramadhan 40, died on Saturday night (21st January 661). Alhasan, his son, succeeds him in the Khalifate, but abdicates in favour of Mu'awiyah in the same year. Is poisoned at Medina by his wife, who was suborned to commit this crime by Yazid bin Mu'awiyah who promised to marry her after it, in 49 A. H. (669-70 A. D.). Hasan slain in the battle of Kerbela on the 10th Mubarram 60 A.H. (23rd Oct. 679 A.D.). As siyuti (Major Jarrett's translation).

<sup>19</sup> Hamza, the uncle of Muhammad, was killed in the battle of Ohod (625 A.D) with 70 of the followers of Muhammad. The enemy (commanded by Abu Sufyan) mutilated the bodies of the slain, and the wife of Abu Sufyan is said to have tasted the entrails of Hamza. (Gibbon's Roman Empire, Vol. V, p. 497.)

<sup>20</sup> Osborn's Islam under the Arabs, chap. V. p. 135 (taken from Tarikh-i-Tabari, Masoodi's Meadows of Gold (Meynard); Ibn Khallikan, and Shahrastani's Muhammadan sects (Dr. Haerbrucker).



reign of 40 days and Merwan bin Hakam had succeeded him. Merwan despatched an army of 20,000 men to deal with these partisans of Ali, the penitents, as they were called, and after a desperate struggle the latter were almost entirely destroyed. Another leader<sup>21</sup> arose to champion the cause in the person of Al Moktar, who was seconded by Ibrahim, the son of Ali's celebrated lieutenant Malik Al Ashtar. He held out with varying success till A.H. 67 (686-687 A.D.) when his troops were defeated in the neighbourhood of Kufa, which was besieged, and which after a short siege was surrendered, Al Moktar and his most devoted adherents having fallen in a sortie.<sup>22</sup> It is not unlikely that a portion of Ali's partisans who despaired of making head against the Bani Ummaiah escaped from Irak, and that among them there were Syrian Arabs<sup>23</sup> who may have preferred to go into exile rather than to fall into the hands of the Khalif. Kirmán would offer them a refuge as it was the head-quarters of the Khawarij, who were afterwards in the tenth century A.D. settled along the coast in Makran.

Commander Wellsted, in his account of the tribes in Arabia met with while surveying that coast, mentions the Bani Abu Ali, who were originally from a small district in Nejd, but who accompanied into Oman those who separated from Ali's army during the struggle with Muavia for the Khalifat. The Arab tribe of Bani Azd<sup>24</sup> were settled in the country between Kirmán and Hormuz, where they held all the forts.<sup>25</sup>

The Rinds say that their ancestors journeyed to Kirmán, that is, the territory belonging to that province, between "the earth and sky," and as their legends are preserved in ballads, this is probably a poetic description of the fact that the fugitives from Irak took ship at Basra, and sailed to the coasts of Kirmán, just as later on the remnant of Yazid bin Muhalab's army, after the defeat and death of their leader in battle with the troops of Yazid ibn Abdal Malik, the Khalif, on Friday the 14th Safar 102 A.H. (24th August 720 A.D.) took to their boats at Basra and sailed to the coast of Kirmán for refuge. The Governor, however, whom Yazid bin Muhalab had appointed to govern the forts in the country between Hormuz and Kirmán owned by his tribe, the Bani Azd, refused to admit them into the forts, and the fugitives being pursued by the Khalif's general Masalmah, turned to bay and fought till they died.<sup>26</sup>

The Rind traditions, as contained in their ballads, mention Jágin as the place where the first arrivals met the ruler of Kirmán. Jágin is a well-known locality to this day, situated in the country between the mouth of the Minab river and Bampur, and the fort at Jágin built of stone exists on the banks of the river.

At this period no doubt an influx of Arabs took place, traces of which are to be found throughout the country. The ancestor of the Buledis, Abu Said, who obtained possession of the valley of Buleda from which his descendants took the name and by which they are still distinguished, and the Mirwari tribe in Kolwah, from whom the present Khans of Kalat have sprung, doubtless also then emigrated into the country they inhabit. The latter originally came over from Oman. Other nomadic tribes of Persian origin also held the country when the Arabs arrived there. The Kurds of Sarhad are a branch of the Kurds of Western Persia, as well as the tribes known as Baluch, who are of the same stock as the various nomadic races that inhabit Persia at the present day. The bulk of the cultivating classes was composed of Meds, Játs, and the Hots, and the result of intermarriages between them and afterwards with the Arabs.

The servile and cultivating class are known by various names at the present day, such as Durzada, Nakib, and also Ját: these form the bulk of the

<sup>21</sup> Sulaiman, who had commanded against the forces of Marwan, had been slain in battle.

<sup>22</sup> Osborn's Islam under the Arabs, Pt. I, Chap. V.

<sup>23</sup> The Rind legends give Halab, or Aleppo, as the place where they were originally settled.

<sup>24</sup> The Bani Azd migrated from Yaman after the bursting of the Dam of Mareb. They settled in Oman, and crossed over into Eastern Persia and Khurasan, where their Chief was made Governor of the Province. The Ghassanide Arabs near Damascus were another branch who migrated into Syria after that catastrophe.

<sup>25</sup> Rawzat us Saffah.

<sup>26</sup> Osborn's Islam under the Arabs, Pt. III, Chap. II. (Tarikh-i-Tabari; Masoudi's Meadows of Gold; Ibn Khallikan also Rawzat us Saffah).

working class, and in each separate locality they form small groups under jemadars whom they themselves elect. In the rebellion of Yazid bin Muhalah, Makran and Kirman declared for the latter against the Khalif Yazid bin Abdal Malik, and previous to this the sedition of the Alafis<sup>27</sup> was probably due to their being inclined to the opinions held by the Khawarij or to their having been partisans of the family of Ali, and it is perhaps due to the influence exercised upon their neighbours by the Khawarij that the inhabitants of Makran in Perso-Baluchistan are at this day rigid Sunnis. The Zikris are to be found only in the eastern portion of the country where Kej was and is still the head-quarters of this schism: and it is of interest to note that in none of the tribes that claim an Arabian origin have the Zikri doctrines made much headway. The Mirwari tribes in Kolwa are Sunni Muhammadans surrounded by other (aboriginal?) tribes among whom those doctrines have made a great many converts.<sup>28</sup>

In countries where the inhabitants profess the doctrines of Islam, a descent from an Arabian stock is always considered most honourable, and a distinction that is coveted by those who have no claims to it; and consequently the Rinds in Makran are looked up to and regarded with deference by all their neighbours, and as they are numerically stronger than the other, and probably more ancient, inhabitants of the country, they have acquired influence, and have been able to compel respect which has led to their obtaining many privileges denied to their neighbours. Jallal Khan, the Chief of the early immigrants to Makran, is the source from which the Rinds derive their genealogies, the steps of which are however very uncertain. Any way, Jallal Khan is looked upon as a historical personage by them and may be considered as such. But various other tribes also attempt to include themselves in the subdivisions of the Rind, who were probably settled in the country before the Arab conquest. In Makran, which is still under the Khan of Kalat, the only sub-tribe of the Rinds to be found there is the Dagarani. These inhabit Kolwah (where they are known as the Nuhani, a subdivision again of the Dagarani) and in the narrow valleys around Wakai, west of the Buleda Valley, and in Mand and Tump. The Puzh, another sub-tribe, is to be found in Kolanoh, but the great bulk of this tribe is found in the country bordering the Kachhi,<sup>29</sup> where they are known as the Marris, a name renowned in the annals of intertribal warfare. The Rinds, as they are now represented, are most probably descendants of the Khawarij who amalgamated with their fellow-countrymen the partisans of Ali, as the hatred they bore the Bani Ummaiah Khalifs would form a bond of union, and afford a point upon which both parties could agree. And as in the Peninsula of Arabia, so in Africa and in Persia, the Khawarij were eventually driven into the mountainous and inaccessible tracts for shelter. The Rinds inhabit the mountainous districts between Bampur and the sea-coast. Wherever they were settled in Khurassan or Seistan, the Khawarij were a source of trouble to their Rulers; and thus it is probable they obtained the designation, and justly, of being bad characters or "Rind." Al Masaudi mentions the coast of Makran as the seat of the Khawarij in the early part of the 10th century A.D., where a city called by Ibnu Haukal,<sup>30</sup> Rasil, was their capital.

Several of the subdivisions of the Rinds are known by the name of the districts they inhabit:<sup>31</sup> the Lasharis from the Lashar District; the Reki, from the sandy plains (Reg, or Rek) around the Mashkel Hamun to which they say that they emigrated from Seistan; the Gishkauris, a small tribe belonging to the Rinds, and at present settled in the country adjacent to Sibi in the Kachhi, say that they were originally settled in Makran upon the banks of a stream that was called the Gish. There is a stream of this name that drains the Buleda Valley.

<sup>27</sup> The Khawarij from Irak had been settled in Kirman, before Hujjaj bin Yusuf had received the Government of the two Iraks (in 76 A.H.), after which the Alafis, having slain the Governor of Makran, fled with 500 followers to Sindh, to Dahir bin Chach.

<sup>28</sup> The Sajiti are all Zikris, as well as a large proportion of the Bisanjan.

<sup>29</sup> A part is also settled in Sindh, but these do not have any intercourse with the Marri who would probably look down on them.

<sup>30</sup> Elliott's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. I, p. 62.

<sup>31</sup> The Dombki, who are looked up to as the best blood among the Rinds of the Kachhi, took their name from the stream of the Dombak in Makran (Persian) where they originally settled: the Kalmati from the Kalmat creek on the Makran (Kalat) Coast. Kaur is the Baluch or Makrani word for stream.

and as no other stream of equal size exists in Makran that bears the same name, they were probably settled in the country adjoining this stream. The gradual change that took place in their language, abandoning the mother tongue (Arabic) of the first arrivals, and the acquisition of that spoken by the inhabitants of the country into which they had immigrated, was due to their surroundings, and took place everywhere that Arabs had settled<sup>32</sup> in the interior of Persia. The tribes that are probably the aborigines of the country are situated for the most part in the territory that lies within the Kalat boundaries, with the exception of the tribes of Sarhad, the Damani tribes, who are ethnically probably of the same stock as the Kurds who inhabit the country in their vicinity. But there is one tribe at least among them, the Gamshadzais, which is said to have emigrated from Farah in the vicinity of Herat, and which is now reckoned as a Baluch tribe and included among the group known as the Damáni.

In Makran under the Khan of Kalat, the following important indigenous tribes, or at any rate those of non-Arab descent, are to be found:—

1. The Sajiti;<sup>33</sup> this is a numerous tribe, the head-quarters of which are situated at Greshak on the slopes of the Kalat Plateau. The tribe is divided into two portions, one of which, the Sangur, extends into Kej where their Chief resides, and is found in the hills, between the Kolwa Valley and the sea, and in the vicinity of Ormára; they are also to be found in small groups in Kolanch and the Dasht, south and south-west of Kej. The tribe is nomadic. The Sajiti are found higher up the country than the Sangur and the latter may be a distinct tribe; but it is generally accounted a branch of the former. The clan or tribe of the Chief of the Sajiti is called Sakazai and they believe that their forefathers emigrated a very long time ago from Seistan.

The Bizanjau, a tribe of great influence in the country, head-quarters at Nál near Wad, south-west of Khudár. The Bizanjau extend right down to the Dasht and the north of the Kolanch district. Mir Fakir Muhammad, who died in 1883-84, was the Sardar of the tribe, and also Khan's Naib in Kej for 40 years, received a half share of the telegraph subsidies with which he purchased property for his younger sons, at Pidark near Kej (Kamal Khan) and in Jau (Safar Khan), while his eldest son, Mir Kahira, succeeded to the Sardári of the tribe and resides at Nál. The sub-tribe of Omerari resides in Kolwa where its Chief Yar Muhammad holds the fort of Chambur.<sup>34</sup> The Tambarári or Tamarári is an adopted tribe and resides in the vicinity of Arnách, south of and not far from Nál. These are the two principal tribes in the country, and in the hills north of Kej are met with small groups of nomads, the Purki, Náli, etc., which are known as Koh Baluch, and who are also some of the vestiges now existing of the older races. Then besides these there are Lundár Lágár, Khos-ags (the ancient Cossceans, a tribe in the central portion of Persia in the time of Herodotus), the greater part of whom are now to be found in Sind; and other small and unimportant tribes. The middle classes who are agriculturalists are called Kaodais, as their communities are governed by their headmen, Kaoda or Kahuda, being a corruption of "Kad-khuda." The servile and labouring classes have been alluded to; but the Kaodais are also a mixed race and composed of Jat and Hot and other races with a good admixture of Arab blood; they however dwell in regular villages.

The faction caused by the murder of the sons of Ali in the Muhammadan world led eventually to the deposition of the Bani Ummaiah at the hands of the house of the Abbassides, and upon the decline of the latter, the outlying districts fell into the hands of various local governors who founded small

<sup>32</sup> In 122 A. H. (745-46 A.D.) Abu Musalam (the adherent) of the Abbasside party went to Makkah, and the Imam Ibrahim bin Muhammad placed the temporal and spiritual affairs in his hands, advising him not to leave alive any one who spoke Arabic (in those days the emissaries and adherents of the Abbassides worked secretly). The change of language would mean a severance of interests between Arabia and Persia and would take place in the case of a sect like the Khawarij sooner than in that of others.

Rawzat-us-Saffah.

<sup>33</sup> Among others two tribes, the Mamasseni and Báseri, are from Shulistan, north-west of Shiraj in Fars.

<sup>34</sup> The Fort of Chambur is built upon an isolated hill. The site is ancient. A well is sunk in the hill to supply the fort with water (this is also the case with the fort of Bit in the Buleda Valley). The name Chambur (Cham or Chamag—a spring of water, and buritha—past-participle of Baluchi verb Burag, to bore, dig, etc.) is possibly due to the fact of the well having been carried through the rock to the spring below. The Kolwa Valley is full of ancient sites. The Chief of Chambur is neither a follower of Islam nor of the Zikri sect; he has a wife of each persuasion.

principalities owning a nominal allegiance to the Khalif at Baghdad. Thus Tahir, the great general of Al Mamun, the Abbasside Khalifa, was the ancestor of a family which reigned in Khurassan for several generations and the family of the Maliks, who ruled over Makran for many centuries, was probably also descended from a Governor who threw off the yoke of the Khalifas and made himself master of the country of Kej and Makran.

His descendants were, however, overshadowed by the proximity of the powerful dynasties that succeeded one another in the possession of Kirman; and Makran appears to have generally been a part of the territories forming this great province. The investiture of Khurassan, Fars, Isfahan, Sijistan, and Sind were conferred upon Umro bin Lais<sup>36</sup> Suffari, and the possession of these countries, which was the result of his rebellion against the house of Tahir, was thus legitimized by the investiture in 265 A.H. (878-9 A.D.) by the Khalif Mu'tazid. In 321 A.H. (934 A.D.) Abu-l-Hasan Dilemi proclaimed his independence, and one of his successors is known to have lost his left hand in an encounter with, it is variously stated, the Kurds, or the Kuch Wa Baluch<sup>37</sup> then inhabiting a portion of Kirman, and from whom the Baluch are descended. Kuch signifies a nomad among other meanings, and the term "Kuchwa Baluch," the Baluchis generally.

The adjoining territories of Seistan and Nimroz were also ruled by a family of Maliks, descended from Umro bin Lais, Suffari, members of which ruled the country, subject, at first, to the Samani dynasty. Their reigns appear to have been troubled and eventful, until, at length, at the close of the 4th century A.H., the dynasty of the maliks was overthrown and the country remained in the possession of the sovereigns of Ghazni for a considerable time<sup>38</sup> until a great-grandson of Khalaf, the last malik, was again placed in possession of the country of Seistan. This family claimed to be descended from the Kaianian Kings of Persia, and the present representatives of the family still put forward the same claim.

At Galugah upon the Mashkel are situated some very peculiar tombs, said to have been the tombs of certain Maliks.<sup>39</sup> The tombs that still exist have been opened and examined and fragments of colored grave cloths discovered. The same style of architecture is to be found in buildings in the vicinity of Panjgur and in the Kolwa Valley<sup>40</sup> that also include tombs. Of the Maliks of Kej and Makran nothing is known, except that they traced their descents to Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, and they were probably subject to the Rulers of Kirman, with short intervals of independent existence.

In the year 607 A.H., Kirman was added to the dominions of the Sultan of Khwarazm, and in 611 A.H. it formed a part of that Empire, assigned to his son Ghiath-ud-din, and the countries of Makran up to the confines of Sind were included in the investiture.

In 612 A.H. (1215-16 A.D.) Kej was taken possession of and news was brought in the same year to Kirman that war had broken out between the Hakim of Hormuz and the Hakim of Kej.<sup>41</sup>

Under the maliks, Kej appears to have been a flourishing little principality, while yet the migration eastward of the tribes into Sind had not taken place, and before the invasion of the Moghals of which there are distinct accounts, and other signs still existing in the country, and to which the present condition of the country may be attributed. At Dizak, north-west of Panjgur in Persian territory, there are the remains of an ancient fort called "Ghairabad" or the deserted. It is said to have been the head-quarters of a Moghal horde who held the country for a year, and after which having suffered meanwhile from a pestilence, the Malik of Makran incited his subjects to rise on the invaders

<sup>36</sup> Major Raverty's translation of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 23, note.

<sup>37</sup> *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, translated by Major Raverty.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Káiani. They may have been built over members of this family who had fled into Makran for shelter and died there.

<sup>40</sup> And in the vicinity of Kharan.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibn-i-Khaldun*.



on an appointed night, wherever the Moghals were to be found. The plan proved successful, and the Moghals were, after a severe struggle, driven out of the country. In Jalk, situated upon the low country at the foot of the hills north of Dizak, are several domed buildings, including tombs, which are also attributed to the Moghals.

The story of the occupation of the country is a historical fact, for in 619-20 A.H.<sup>41</sup> the army under Chaghatae penetrated into Sind and the Makrānāt (the countries of Makran) and the Jami-ut-tawarikh states that his army passed the hot season in the confines of a country whose name is not intelligible; but which might easily be restored to Panjgur. The ports of Tiz and Hormuz situated on the coast of the Persian Gulf were sacked during this raid.

The ruler of the country, where the Moghal forces passed the summer, was the Sálár Ahmad who is said to have done his utmost to administer to the needs of the invaders. The army, however, was prostrated by sickness, and possessing a very large number of captives who performed the menial duties of the camps, each one of these was set to work to clean 400 *mans*<sup>42</sup> of rice (the Dizaki *man* = 2 seers, about 4lb) which was done within a week. (The country around Dizak and Jalk produces rice which is also grown in Panjgur and in Kej, as well as in other localities where water is sufficient, and in Makran unhusked rice is used to feed horses when barley is unprocurable.) The Moghals then massacred all their captives (which may have been owing to the outbreak of the native tribes) and retired from the country. In 621 A.H., Sultan Jallal-ud-din, returning from Sind to Kirmán, passed through the desolated country where his army suffered great hardships and lost a great part of its strength in Kej, owing to a pestilence. Outbreaks of cholera and small-pox occasionally make their appearance in Kej at the present day.

There is a great dearth of incidental notices after this period of the Makrans, as the country of Kej Makran is generally called.

They were probably subject to the various rulers of Kirman, the Kara Khitai, and the Governors of the descendants of Chingiz to whose share the provinces of Persia fell.

The invasion of Taimur, Lang, took place in the early part of the 8th century A.H. (Seistan was devastated in 803—1400-1 A.D.) and Makran and the Kalat plateau were probably included within the scope of operations of bands of Tartar or Moghal horse.

Several Moghal hordes during the time and after the death of Chingiz Khan, penetrated into the Punjab and Sind. In Rabi-ul-Awal of 800 A.H., Mirza Pir Muhammad invaded the Punjab and Upper Sind, and on the 8th of Rabi-ul-Akhir 801, Taimur captured Delhi. As the forces of Pir Muhammad attacked Uchh, at first they may probably have marched through Peshin, and thence either by the Harnai or the Bolan advanced into Upper Sind to Uchh.

The period is now approaching when the Baluch, or the Rinds more properly, are believed to have emigrated from Makran and made their way into Sind. Upon this part of their history the only available information there exists in their traditions; the migration itself and the achievements of the principal leaders are worked up into ballads by their bards, and are recited to the descendants of the original emigrants at this present day.

Mir Chakar was the leader whom all the tribes followed. He is believed to have been born in Mand, where there is a ruin called "Chakar's Miri," and his acts are said to have been preserved in writing under the title of "Chakar-namah" or the "Book of Chakar." Mir Chakar<sup>43</sup> was his title, his real name being, it is said, Rustam Khan. His tomb is situated in Satgharra in the district of Montgomery in the Punjab; and the writer was informed that the "Chakar-

<sup>41</sup> 1222-23 A.H.

<sup>42</sup> The *man* is a wooden measure like a bushel, only varying in capacity.

<sup>43</sup> Chakar with his two sons, Allahdád and Shahdád, seek refuge with Jam Bayazid in Shor Kot, having been worsted in their struggle with the other Baluch tribes, and receive a jágir at Satgarh. Chakar is mentioned in the History of the affairs of the Punjab in 940-50 A.H. (1542-48 A.D.) during the reign of Sher Shah Sur. (Maj. Baverly's paper, "The Mihran of Sind and its tributaries." Jour. A. S. Beng., Vol. LXI, Pt. I; No. III).

namah" was taken away from Makran by one of the custodians of Chakar's tomb who had been deputed for this purpose.

The first move of the Rinds was into Kej and Kolwa. In Kej they defeated the forces of Malik Harun and took the strong fort of Fatehpur. While the writer was in charge of Kej and Panjgur, on one occasion while riding towards Mand from Kej itself, the Gichki Chiefs who were in attendance mentioned, that at one time, it is related, there was a town called Fatehpur situated between Kej and Nasirabad<sup>48</sup> and the lofty fort of Fatehpur mentioned in the Baluch ballads was undoubtedly the fort known as the Miri at the present day (or as Punus Miri) as it is built upon a lofty mound that is composed undoubtedly of the remains of an older fort or town.<sup>49</sup> The Jats were deprived of Kolwah, which was taken possession of by the Rinds. The country was found to be too confined for such a large body of nomads to be able to pasture their flocks, and they made a second move eastwards. It has been seen that the lines of communication through these valleys are easy, and accordingly the mass of the emigrants travelled eastward through the Kej, Kolwa, and Jau Valleys until they alighted at the head of the valley of Las Bela, where the localities mentioned in their ballads can be identified, and thence into the head waters of the Habb River and onwards into Sind. Another body marching through Panjgur reached the Kalat Plateau and the districts in the vicinity of Khusdar, and pressing on they descended into Sind, by the Mula Pass and the Gaj Nai, a pass south of the former. Mir Chakar and Mir Ghwaram (Bahram) Lashari with another body are said to have captured Kalat and then marched by the Bolan into the low-lying province of Sind. The various localities in which they settled still bear the names by which they are represented in the legends and stories relating to the immigration of these tribes into Sind and the Punjab.

Although small bodies of the Rinds or Baluch probably had made their way eastwards before the general emigration took place, the accounts preserved of the latter would make it appear that the Samah Jam Nizam-ud-din was on the throne of Sind when the great bulk of the Rinds (and Baluchis) crossed into that country. Jam Nizam-ud-din succeeded Jam Sanjar on 25th of Rabi-ul-Awal 866 A.H.<sup>50</sup> (29th November, 1461 A.D.) and died in 914 A.H.<sup>51</sup> (1498-99 A.D.), so that it may be reckoned, upon the authority of their own traditions and legends, that the greater part of the Baluchis and Rinds arrived in Sind towards quite the end of the fifteenth century A.D.

The reason of the Rinds abandoning their ancient habitations was that they were oppressed by the "Moghals" or "Turks." These names are vaguely used to denote their enemies and it does not follow that they were Moghals of Chingiz Khan, or of Taimur, for at that time the invasions of the latter and of his successors had long ceased to trouble the peace of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Uzbeks<sup>52</sup> were very troublesome neighbours, but their excursions did not extend over the same area, or to the same distance as those of the Moghal or Tartar hordes.

But there was another power with whom the Rinds in their own native land had to reckon, and this was the growing Empire of the Suffavian monarchs of Persia under Shah Ismail. The Rinds had to deal with a power that was acquiring territory to be held permanently, and not with the raids of a horde

<sup>48</sup> It was said to have extended from near the present site of Kej itself, or of Khoeba Kalat in Kej, to near Nasirabad. It would have included the Miri Fort. Very slight vestiges of this town are met with.

<sup>49</sup> The mound upon which this fort stands is one of considerable height and extent. The fort itself is as old as anything in Kej except the karezes. The following allusion is made to the capture of Fatehpur: "Fatehpur, the hill fort, I have taken with the sword. It is no ancestral possession," and again:—

<sup>50</sup> "Fatehpur the hill fort. Let it be barren and lie waste. Let no rain cloud bring it wealth. Let dogs howl in its cattle pens."

Bilochi-nama, compiled by Rai Bahadur Hitu Ram, C.I.E., page 146.

<sup>51</sup> Tarikh-i-Sind.

<sup>52</sup> Tufhat-ul-Kiram. No details are given as to the day or month. Jam Nizam-ud-din is buried on the Makhi hill near Tatta. And from the inscription on his Mausoleum it appears that it was commenced in 915 A.H.; so that he may have died either late in the preceding year, or early in 916 A.H. Jam Nizam-ud-din is commonly known as Jam Nando.

<sup>53</sup> The power of the Uzbeks was broken by Shah Ismail Suffavi who defeated Muhammad Shaibani, the Uzbek leader, at the battle of Mahmudabad of Marw in which the latter was killed on the 29th Shaaban 916 A.H. (2nd November 1510 A.D.).

of barbarians who withdrew after desolating the country, enabling those who had the good fortune to possess places of security, to emerge from the mountain fastnesses where they had found a refuge for their families and property. Kirman had become a province of Persia, and demands for land revenue and grazing dues had doubtless to be met; and when, no doubt, a refusal to pay met with summary punishment. To the tribes who had hitherto been independent, the demands and probably the extortionate claims of the Persian officials would prove unbearable; and it is quite conceivable that they preferred emigrating largely into another country as far removed from the Persians as was possible, to remaining in a subject condition in their own country.

The Baluch and Rind tribes are said to have been granted lands in Sind by Jam Nizam-ud-din, which they still hold. The intermediate country not being suitable for them to settle in, they had no option but to press onwards till they reached another where they could do so. The valleys of Kej and Kolwa were occupied; but the grazing lands were already in the hands of tribes inhabiting that country. The upland valleys of Kalat afforded good pasture in the summer, but during five months in the winter they offered no means of subsistence for the flocks and herds of the emigrants, and as Sind lay next door to them, they were compelled, of necessity, to descend the mountain tracks that led from Kalat to Sind. And as the Persian Empire extended its way over the districts of Kej and Panjgur, the various tribes that had originally migrated to Sind were doubtless joined by fresh bands of emigrants, induced thither by the reports of the peaceful reign and benevolent Government of Jam Nizam-ud-din, Samah.

1461-1499 AD.  
866-914 AH

But the peace was not of long duration: already the last years of Jam Nizam-ud-din were darkened by the threatened invasions of the Arghuns,<sup>48</sup> who had conquered Shal and Peshin and held the country up to Kalat, and the circumstances that induced the Baluch tribes to enter Sind also compelled the Arghun Chief Shah Beg to find a country where his Chiefs could carve out their fortunes, which the possession of the elevated and bare tracts they held gave no chance of their doing.<sup>49</sup> During the reign of Jam Nizam-ud-din's successor, the Arghun leader descended into Sind and acquired the country at the foot of the hills. The various Baluch and Rind tribes had fallen out among themselves. Mir Chakar and Ghwaram Lashari were at feud with one another, and added to these elements of weakness was the presence of a common enemy, the Arghuns. A large portion of the Rinds moved on into the Panjab where they occupied the lands now held by them.

Kej formed a part of the Persian Empire until the death of Shah Abbas, the second, when it seems to have become an independent State. The Maliks doubtless governed the country subject to the orders of the Viceroy of Kirman. No account survives of this family and merely the names of Malik Harun and Maliks Abbas, Seifuddin, and Muzzafarudin<sup>50</sup> are handed down as being those of rulers of the country.

About the beginning of the 17th century a band of Rajputs,<sup>51</sup> flying from the Panjab, are said to have found refuge in the territories of the Maliks, and from these are descended the present Sardars of Kej and Panjgur, known as the Gichki.

In the days of the last Malik, Malik Mirza (who was alive, 1613 A. D.), the Gichkis, having formed a conspiracy with the tribe or family of the Buledis, a member of whom was Naib of Peshin (west of Mand), and having slain the ruler of the country they divided his territories between them—the Buledis taking the western and the Gichkis the eastern portions—until at length they themselves became subject to the growing power of the Khans of Kalat.

<sup>48</sup> Darya Khan and Sarang Khan were Khanazads of Jam Nizam-ud-din; the latter had adopted Darya Khan as his son. By the exertions of these officers the first invasion, by the Arghuns of Sind, was unsuccessful, the brother of Shah Beg, who commanded the invading force, was slain in battle (Tarikh-i-Sind).

<sup>49</sup> Sivi was the first conquest made of territory in the valley of the Indus. It was then in the possession of the descendants of Sultan Bahrani Birlas, whose head-quarters were at Fatehpur, which was a fort 50 kuroh (kos) from Sivi in the direction of Sind (Tarikh-i-Sind).

<sup>50</sup> The name Jallaluddin was inscribed on one of the tombs in Gallugah of Mashkel. A Malik Jallaluddin ruled at a later date in Seistan.

<sup>51</sup> Panna Sing, the ancestor of the Gichkis, is said to have been a Rajput and to have dwelt at or in the vicinity of Lahore.

Kalat with Shal and Peshin (written as Foshanj<sup>22</sup>) was anciently known as Turán. In the Chachnama it is stated that the territory of Turán had been taken by Kai Chah from out of the hands of the Turánis. The name Turán is the same as that which appears in Persian Histories and is used to distinguish the countries beyond the Jihun (or Oxus) River from those that lie to the south of it, and the name Turán was given to the country about Kalat undoubtedly from the fact of it having been colonized by tribes from beyond the Oxus. It is interesting to note that the Brahni dialect, which is still spoken in the country, is considered as belonging to the Dekhan group of languages, and in the opinion of Professor Lassen this is a proof that before the arrival of the Aryans, India, together with Gedrosia, was inhabited by the tribes of the same widely diffused aboriginal race. In the country of Turán, or the Kalat Plateau, there is at the present day a tribe known as the Mingal. This tribe is divided into two portions, one of which is called the Zighar<sup>23</sup> Mingals. They are looked up to as superior to the other division of the tribe, who are probably reckoned as adoptives; the Shahizai Mingals belong to the latter. The name Zighar<sup>24</sup> is said by the people, and this is universally believed as being really true in the country, to be the name of a district or country beyond the Oxus, and about Samarkand which was called Zughd.<sup>25</sup> Among other names in the first chapter of the Venidad identified by Professor Darmesteter in his translation of the Zend Avesta, occurs the name (in Zend) of Sughda, (in old Persian) Suguda, (in Greek) Sogdiané and in the modern form Samarkand. The idea of the Mingals themselves is, that they are descendants of a people who originally dwelt in the vicinity of Samarkand (Zughd being said by general consent to be Samarkand). In the Baluchi language (spoken and understood by the Mingals as well as the Brahni dialect) which is a relic of the influence exercised by the civilization of ancient Persia, when the limits of the Persian Empire extended into Western India, plurals of substantives and collective nouns are formed, generally, by adding the suffix gal<sup>26</sup> to the noun itself, and hence all over Baluchistan the word *Jadgal*, is used to denote the Jat population at large; *Jan gal*, women, and *Lerav-gal*, camels, etc.;<sup>27</sup> so that the word Minghal merely denotes the *Min* tribe. In use, the word *Jadgal* is employed, whether one man be spoken of or the tribe at large; and accordingly no change would be made in speaking of an individual *Min* or of the whole tribe. The *Min* were a well known Scythian, that is Turanian, tribe and the name occurs on the lists of the Behistun Inscriptions, containing the names of the Scythian tribes deported by Darius, the Achæmenian into the eastern frontiers of his Empire owing to their turbulence. The tribe in Kalat was renowned for its bravery, and further east in Rajputana the tribe of Minas are, or were, celebrated for their turbulence and for their predilection towards dacoity, and were found occupying large villages within reach of some fastness among the neighbouring hills.

In the first century A.D. the writer of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea mentions the city of Minnagar as being the capital of Sind, which is called by him Indo Skythia and which was governed by Parthian princes, and in the geography of Klaudios Ptolemy (MacCrindle's translation) the country of not only Sind is called Indo Skythia, but this term is applied to all the countries traversed by the Indus to the sea. The tribes of Turanian origin that are included in the term Skythians extended eastwards towards the central plateau of India, and the year in which they were defeated by Vikramāditya forms the commencement of the era in Indian chronology called Samvat (57 B.C.). Ptolemy places a tribe whom he calls the Rhamnai in the same locality which is called Turán and of which we are at present treating. So that in the Brahni tribes, the Mingal, and others inhabiting the country in the vicinity of Wad and Khusdar, we probably find relics of the great

<sup>22</sup> There was another city called Foshanj, situated in Khurasan, which was celebrated in the accounts of the history of that country, and situated far west of Peshin.

<sup>23</sup> or Zighar.

<sup>24</sup> or Zughar.

<sup>25</sup> The Zighar or Zughar Mingals say they originally came from the country called Zughd.

<sup>26</sup> Dames' Baluchi Grammar, page 5.

Also Baluchnamah by R. B. Hita Ram, C.I.E.

<sup>27</sup> *Marri gal*, the Marria.

Mingal



influx of Turanian tribes who, having been driven from their abodes in Central Asia by more powerful tribes, made their way into India after overthrowing the Bactrian Empire<sup>55</sup> in the last century before the commencement of the Christian era. Among the mountains of Kalat they probably were able to preserve their language and characteristics, by which they were recognised by later writers. Ibnu Haukal<sup>56</sup> mentions Kasdár, the chief city of Turán, as being distant from Multan a twenty days' journey, and from Mansura in Sind to Turán as being about fifteen. Kasdár is described by him as being a city, with dependant towns and villages, the governor of which in his day was Mu'in bin Ahmad, who was probably an independent ruler as the Khutba was read in the name of the Khalifa alone. The place of his residence is described as being at the city of Kabár Kánán, where living was cheap, and where pomegranates, grapes and other pleasant fruits were met with in abundance, but there were no date trees in that district. The town of Kabár Kánán must therefore have been situated in what is now known as the Sarawán; it is the country north of Kalat. It is probably the same as Kaikan or Kaikánán to which allusion has been made; which would make it appear to be further north than Kalat itself, and Kaikánán is the district now known as Shal, and probably included the country in its immediate vicinity towards Peshin and in the direction of Kalat itself. The price of the necessaries of life being low, the city in which the ruler dwelt must have been situated in a very fertile district amidst cultivation and where water for irrigation was plentiful, and the locality known as Mastung at the present day would include all these conditions, and as it is still celebrated for its orchards and vineyards, the city of Kabár Kánán or Kaikánán was probably situated in the Mastung Valley, where the site of an ancient city (called Aurangabad) is pointed out, to the west of the present town and not far from the Khan of Kalat's Miri, which is said to have been the chief town of Mastung. Not only is Mastung a very fertile spot, but the whole of the adjoining valley towards the west, known as the Shirin Ao, is also fertile and must have been still more before the inroads of Moghal hordes devastated the country. Itun Haukal wrote in about A.D. 977, and it may be assumed that prior to that in his day, the Kalat State known as Turán was a flourishing but small State under an independent ruler. Istakhri,<sup>57</sup> who wrote early in the 10th century A.D., mentions Kesdán as being the chief town of Turán. Kesdán and Kasdár are therefore the same locality. When Istakhri wrote the ruler of this State was also independent, reading the Khutba in the name of the Khalifa alone. From Kesdán (that is the modern Khusdár) to the town of Kandabil was five stages; the country of which it was the chief town was situated between Turán and Makran on the one hand, and Multan and the town of Mansurah on the other, and to the west of the Mihrán, the ancient name of the Indus, in Sind. This district included the land at the foot of the hills which is now called the Kachhi, and from its distance from Kasdár (Khusdár) Kandabil must be the same as the modern town of Gandava, which can be reached without difficulty from Khusdár, by the Mula Pass in five marches, and where there is an ancient site the debris of the buildings of which have formed a large mound.

The numerous remains met with in the country and which are known as Ghorbastas, or more properly Gaurbastas (the handiwork of infidels) are nothing more than terraced fields such as may be met with at the present day in the Himalayas; and in Yaman, in Arabia,<sup>58</sup> the karezes that are now in use are for the most part very ancient, and the numerous ancient sites scattered over the country show that at one time it was occupied by a large agricultural population, whose needs could not be supplied by the crops raised in the valleys alone but required to be supplemented by the produce grown on terraced fields, by means of which localities not of themselves suitable were utilized to grow the produce needed to supply the inhabitants with food.

<sup>55</sup> There is a district north of the Orus known as the Jettah, and it is perhaps the ancient abode of the Jat tribes, who are at the present day so widely diffused over the Panjab and Sind.

<sup>56</sup> Elliott's Muhammadan Historians of India, Volume I.

<sup>57</sup> Elliott's Muhammadan Historians, Volume I (Edition of 1850).

<sup>58</sup> The Gaurbastas or terraced fields are consequently met with only in the narrower valleys. The lower slopes of Ras Koh, the highest point of the range of hills north of Kharan, and between it and Chagoh, are terraced, the retaining walls of the terraces being composed of huge blocks and boulders of limestone. The great part of these terraces are in perfect order, and it is certain that at one time they supplied an industrious agricultural population with food from crops grown upon them.

The State of Turán perhaps included the country between the south face of the Kalat Plateau and the sea, which is known at the present day as Las Bela, and the author of the *Jami-ut-Tawarikh*<sup>40</sup> mentions that between the cities of Debal (in Sind) and Tez (which was in his day the capital of Makran) lay the Gulf of Turán; by which was meant undoubtedly the Bay that lay between Capes Malán and Monze on the shores of which Sonmiani is, at the present day, situated.

According to the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*,<sup>41</sup> in 377 A.H. (987-8 A.D.) the Amir Nasiru-ud-din Sabuktigin invaded the territory of the ruler of KUSDÁR, which was situated near the dominions of the former, and in a southerly direction with respect to his capital. The ruler of KUSDÁR prided himself much on the strength of his forts, and was elated at the wealth and resources of his Kingdom. His country was conquered and he was taken prisoner, but was subsequently restored to his possessions. He agreed to pay tribute, and strike coin and read the Khutbas in the name of the Amir Sabuktigin. Mahmud,<sup>42</sup> also at a subsequent date, set out from Ghazni to chastise the ruler of Khusdár who had rebelled, and the State of Khusdár, which had become independent probably after the decline of the power of the Abassides, became subject to the Sultans of Ghazni. The mention of the Arab Governors of Khusdár is interesting as the present rulers are themselves the younger branch of a tribe who claim to be descended from Arabs;<sup>43</sup> and their patronymic of Ahmadzai makes the question of still greater interest as this name Ahmad appeared to have been borne by members of the family of rulers alluded to by Ibun Haukal and it may be that the adoption of this patronymic by the Khans of Kalat is of an older date than is generally supposed to be the case.

This State continued doubtless subject to the successors of the Ghaznevide monarchs and to their successors of Ghur. It was probably semi-independent on the downfall of the latter monarchy and paid a nominal obedience to the Governors who held the country around Ghazni for the Sultans of Khwarazm, and when Nasr-ud-din Kabajah<sup>44</sup> had established his authority over Sind, the ruler of Kalat may have acknowledged his sovereignty. The ravages of the Moghal hordes and the armies of Taimur Lang extended into India, and they are generally represented as having entered the country about Uchh, so that the route taken by them was through Peshin and then, either by the Bolan or Harnai valleys, into Upper Sind, and to this may be attributed the destruction of the ancient forts and villages whose remains are met with throughout the country; throughout the Peshin valley and in Shál there are traditions that the whole country was at one time occupied by the Chagatai (a horde of Moghals) who lived in tents and held the country.

The Sewas, of whom mention is made, were the representatives of a very ancient race. Siwasthan, the country of the Sewas, is a name that occurs in the *Chachnama* as one of the divisions into which Sind was divided in the time of the Rais of Sind. Sibi or Siwi is another trace remaining of their occupation of the country, and was their capital. Among the tribes mentioned by Arrian as having been encountered by the soldiers of Alexander's army in his Indian campaign, the name of the ruler Sabus appears; and the two letters B and W are interchangeable, as is the case this day in respect to the name Siwi, called Sibi by Europeans and both Sibi and Siwi by the Native population. King Sabus abandoned his capital, Sindomana, which was taken possession of by Alexander.

Sindomana is believed to have stood on the site of modern Sehwan, or in its immediate vicinity; this town is always called Siwasthan in the old histories, and the form of the ancient King's name preserved by Strabo, Curtius and by Diodorus may probably be the correct form.

<sup>40</sup> Elliott, Volume I (Edition of 1850).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*; but according to Major Raverty this took place in 376 A.H. (*Tabakat-i-Nasiri*). His author calls it the Zamin of KUSDÁR (i.e., District of KUSDÁR).

<sup>42</sup> Mahmud (of Ghazni) died on 14th Rabi-us-Sani 421 (middle of April 1030 A.D.), and at this time his authority had extended over a great part of India, the countries on the sea coast of Oman, KUSDÁR and Sind, as far as Siwasthan bordering on Kirman Kij, and Makran (*Tabakat-i-Nasiri*: Major Raverty's translation).

<sup>43</sup> The Mirwári, the tribe was probably called Mirwári from the fact that the Mir, or Chief of the country was selected from.

<sup>44</sup> Drowned in the Indus at Bhakar 23 Jamadi-ul-Akhir 625 A.H. (30th April 1227 A.D.) *Tabak: Nas: Major Raverty's translation*.

The Sewas may have obtained possession of Kalat upon the decline of the authority of the Monarchs of Delhi, the successors of Sultan Firoz Shah (who died on the 18th Ramadhan 790, or 22nd August 1388 A.D.), when the Samah tribe rose to power in Sind. The Sewas are called Hindus, but it does not imply that they professed Hinduism, but merely that they were descended from an ancient tribe who originally were Hindus (the Gichkis of Kej and Panjgur are to this day called Hindus owing to their descent from an Indian stock, and from ancestors who were of that religion). They were deprived of power, judging from the legends existing in the country, some time before the advent of the Rinds under Mir Ohakar into Sind, or about the middle of the 15th century.

The son of the last Sewa ruler fled to Zehri on the capture of Kalat by the Mirwaris and held out there, it is said, for some little time, after which he also lost his life, and the remnant of this tribe or family is said to have embraced Islam, and their descendants are to be found in the Kachhi.

Kalat, together with Shál,<sup>67</sup> and Peshin was doubtless subject to the Arghuns, and afterwards was a district of the Subah of Kandahar. It is mentioned as being such in the Badshahnamah when Kandahar was delivered over to the Moghal Sovereign of Delhi by Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian Governor in the reign of Shah Jehan, together with the districts of Peshin, Shál, and Mastung.

The re-capture of Kandahar by the Persians and the decline of the Moghal Empire of Delhi was favourable to the growth of the Kalat State, as this territory from its position formed a convenient buffer between the two empires, until at length, upon the downfall of the Suffavean Monarchy, both Makrán and Kalat, the latter under the intrepid Mir Abdullah, were both able to set up as independent States, the former however only to change masters.

The history of the Khans of the family of Ahmad Zai are given in the next part.

<sup>67</sup> Upon the capture of Kabul by Humayun after his return from Persia, he conferred the Government of Duki upon Mir Saïad Ali, a Chief of great influence among both the Afghans and Baluchis. Lawang Baluch, another of the principal Chiefs of the Baluchis, having acknowledged Humayun as Emperor, was rewarded with the country of Shál and Mastung A.D. 1545 (Erskine's Baber and Humayun, Vol. II, p. 327).

## PART II

*Translated from Muhamad Sidik's manuscript.*

The former Rulers of Kalat, Sewa by name, were Hindus. After these the Moghals ruled over the country. But upon dissensions having broken out among the Moghals in Kburassan, Kalat of the Baluchis was taken possession of by the Mirwáris,<sup>66</sup> and at length the authority over the country was held by Mir Umar Mirwári. At this time one Chákar, a Baluch and a man of influence among the Rinds, and Ghorám, Lashari, arrived at Kalat from Makran and between the Mirwáris and Sihak (or Shahik), the father of Chákar Baluch, hostilities having broken out, Mir Umar was killed, and the Baluchis ruled over the country for two years. This Mir Umar Mirwári had one son, Bijjar by name, who, in fear of his life, fled to Mastung where he took refuge with a family of Saiads until the time that Chákar and Ghorám, having left Mando, Baluch, in Kalat, proceeded on their way to the invasion of Kachhi. Thereupon Bijjar to revenge his father's death having started from Mastung arrived at Chapar, a locality situated close to Kalat at the abode of Siáhi, son of Raisán<sup>67</sup> (whence the descendants of Siáhi are called Raisánis) and allied himself to the latter. While at this place, with the aid of Siáhi and his sons he attacked and carried off camels belonging to Mando from Mungachar.<sup>70</sup> At length a battle took place between the latter and Bijjar and his adherents, in which Mando was killed. Mando was buried without that gate of Kalat named the Mastung gate, and traces of his tomb are in existence at the present day. Afterwards, having acquired the districts of Surab and Wad, together with Kalat, Bijjar turned the Baluchis out of his territories. He settled the Raisánis in Wad, giving them the lands of Waihar (or Vaihar) in Inám, and this tribe is at the present day known as the Shahizai, and the lands of Waihar (or Vaihar) are at the present day still in their possession.

The descendants of Mando are called Mandowani.

Some time after Mir Bijjar died and Kalat was left without a Ruler, and the Moghals having arrived took possession of it and placed a Governor over the people. The Dehwars<sup>71</sup> of Kalat being greatly oppressed by the exactions of the Moghals made a sedition, and having slain the Governor, with one accord sent a message to Mir Ibrahim Khan, who was the ancestor of the Kambarani,<sup>72</sup> Ahmadzai<sup>73</sup> and Mirwári families, that he should send one of his sons to be made Ruler of Kalat. Ibrahim Khan sent one of his grandsons named Mir Hassan<sup>74</sup> and he was duly installed Hakim of Kalat.<sup>75</sup> Kalat, with

<sup>66</sup> Mirwári, or Mirwáni: the name of a tribe descended from immigrants from Arabia. This tribe is settled in the Kolwah valley and in Mashkai and Nonderah, also a few families in the Jan valley. The representatives of the elder branch are Mir Wali Muhammad and his son, Fakir Muhammad, in Nonderah: head-quarters at the Fort of Gushának. The younger branch in Mashkai is represented by Malik Dinár, son of the late Sardar Mir Abdul Karim, who died in 1892. Head-quarters in the Fort of Mangulú in the Mashkai valley.

<sup>67</sup> The Raisánis are in reality an Afghan tribe. They are Spin Tarins, and their original abode was in the vicinity of Ámadun, north of Kachh, towards Gwasbki; the Raisánis are therefore of the Sarábán division of the Afghan tribes. Up to the time that the Khans of Kalat became powerful, from Kalat northwards their country was inhabited by Afghans.

<sup>70</sup> Mungachar, a cultivated plain 25 miles north of Kalat.

<sup>71</sup> Dehwars, or Tajiks, inhabit the vicinity of Kalat and are also to be found in Mastung. They are probably the remains of the race that once peopled the Kalat plateau, as the remains of ancient village sites, karezes and terraced fields that exist everywhere throughout the country show that there must have been a very numerous population depending upon agriculture for their subsistence, and for whose sustenance the produce of the arable lands situated in the main valleys had to be supplemented by cultivation carried on by means of terraces upon the lower slopes of the hills, and in the more narrow side valleys. The inroads of the Moghals were undoubtedly the cause of the destruction of the ancient prosperity of the country. The Dehwars of Baluchistan all speak Persian.

<sup>72</sup> Kanbar, or Kambar, was the name of the freed man of 'Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad. The Kambarani are the elder branch of the Khans' family of Kalat, as will be seen from a reference to the accompanying genealogical tree. At present this branch is numerically insignificant and also possesses no influence. Their representative dwell in a small village (Sáráwán) near Khárán, and is subject to Sir Nauros Khan, K.C.I.E., of Khárán.

<sup>73</sup> The family name of the Khans of Kalat is Ahmadzai and not Kambarani, as is generally supposed to be the case.

<sup>74</sup> It is the popular belief in Baluchistan that owing to the insignificance of Kalat none of the Mirwári Chiefs (i.e., elder sons) would accept the rulership of that place. It was given in consequence to a junior member of the family. There are letters in the possession of Mir Wali Muhammad Mirwári, addressed to him by Mehrab Khan of Kalat and bearing his seal, calling upon the former as the representative of the elder branch of the Mirwári clan, and the Khan's deputy (Kain-Mokam) in Kolwa, to afford assistance in men to resist the British, then about to advance on Kalat, after the attack upon Sir Alexander Burnes.

<sup>75</sup> Mir Hassan and the Dehwars entered into a compact by the terms of which the latter undertook to pay him revenue in money and service, to provide fuel and fodder for his horses, as well as to afford labourers and material for the repair of the Miri.



Suráb and Mungachar, were held by him, and after him by his progeny, generation after generation, till at length the turn of holding power came to his descendant, Mir Ahmad,<sup>78</sup> from whom the family have become known as the Ahmadzai.

In his days Mastung<sup>79</sup> was taken by force of arms from Agha Ja'afir,<sup>80</sup> the Moghal,<sup>81</sup> and the latter being defeated departed thence. The districts of Khusdar and Baghbanah, with Karkh and Chako, were also taken by him from the hands of the Jadgals. Moreover he fought sixteen actions with the Barozai Ruler of Siwi, but was defeated in each encounter with their forces. A seventeenth engagement took place at a spot called Pir Lehkan<sup>82</sup> in which neither party obtained a decisive result. But Mir Ahmad himself, and his Minister, Akhund Muhammad Saleh, were both wounded and Mir Shawáz and Mir Ibrahim, the latter an ancestor of the Naushirwani Sardar Mir Azad Khan,<sup>83</sup> lost their lives. Mir Zangi, Raisani, represented to the Khan of Kalat that he should again another time prepare for a struggle with the Barozais,<sup>84</sup> but that on this occasion he should take his son Mir Mehráb Khan with him, as the presence of the young Khan in the ranks of his father's troops might be the cause of a change in the bad fortune that had hitherto attended their efforts. Accordingly a fresh levy of fighting men having been made, Siwi was invaded by the route through the Bolan Pass. At this time Mirza Khan Barozai, together with his son Nawab Bakhtiar Khan,<sup>85</sup> was at Shikarpur, and this place, together with all the country on the western bank of the Indus River, Kachhi and Siwi, belonged to the Barozai. In the absence of Mirza Khan, Saiad Sufá and Saiad Nabi were appointed as temporary Governors of Siwi, and they having obtained information of the advance of the Kalat forces in the direction of Siwi, collected the paid troops that were available in Siwi, as well as a levy of the tribesmen,<sup>86</sup> such as the Rind, Maghassi, Domki, and the rest of the Baluch tribes of the Kachhi, and marched to repel the invasion. A battle took place at the Mukám of Sheikh Ketí<sup>87</sup> in which both the aforesaid Saiads attained to the dignity of martyrdom and a great number of the troops of the Barozais were slain and the rest defeated, Mir Ahmad and his son Mir Mehrab, having obtained the victory, returned to their own country. When news of this defeat reached Mirza Khan, he raised the forces of Sindh, and with an immense following advanced towards Kalat. By the time, however, that he had reached Johan,<sup>88</sup> he discovered that it was a matter of difficulty to cope with the Brahuis among their strong mountain fastnesses; and accordingly the forces of the Barozais were making preparations to retreat as they considered it would be a difficult matter to retire on Siwi and Kachhi, when Mir Zangi, son of Kalandar Raisáni, having interposed his good offices in the interests of peace, led Mirza Khan and Bakhtiar Khan to the Chashma of Kalat, and having induced Mir Ahmad and Mir Mehrab Khan to leave the citadel, arranged a friendly meeting between these Chiefs at the Chashma, and the Barozai Chiefs having at last taken

<sup>78</sup> 1077-1107 A.H.=1666-76, 1695-96 A.D.

<sup>79</sup> In 1522 Baber acquired Kandahar by capitulation and it remained with one short interval excepted, in the hands of one or other of his descendants, until the beginning of Akbar's reign when the King of Persia gained possession of it. Disorders in the early part of the reign of Shah Abbás led to its acquisition by Akbar. It then became one of the sarkars into which the kingdoms of that Emperor were divided, and among other districts it included that of Mastung. "Territory of Mastang (Mastang) has a mud fort: 10 tumáns and 8,000 dinárs in money: 470 kharwars in grain. Afghans of Kási and Baluch, 100 horse and 500 foot." (Ain-i-Akbari) (Major Jarrett's translation). Mastung suffered from the inroads of the Moghals and its name, in times prior to these, is said to have been Aurangabad, and an ancient site west of the present town is pointed out as the site of old Mastung or Aurangabad.

<sup>80</sup> Agha Ja'afir had marched on Kalat itself.

<sup>81</sup> Prince Dára Shekoh (for the last time) besieged Kandahar in 1064 A.H., but was forced to raise the siege and retire to India via Kabul and Lahore. Kandahar at that time was held by the Persians, and the Agha Ja'afir was very probably a Persian Governor in charge of Pesbin, Mastung and the Persian territories, east of the Khojak range of mountains, 1064 A.H.=1653-54 A.D.

<sup>82</sup> Or Pir Lehkan. *See Khan's Jihannám* 11073

<sup>83</sup> Vide Appendix 1. The Naushirwanis.

<sup>84</sup> Vide Appendix 2. Barozais of Dadar.

<sup>85</sup> Called Bakhtáwar Khan in the Tufhat-ul-Kirám.

<sup>86</sup> Ulás.

<sup>87</sup> Or Geti. *See Nám-e-Bukhárí* 11073.

<sup>88</sup> Johan is a locality about 8 miles east by north of Mungachar, where there are some Hindu temples and other remains in the vicinity. The Barozais evidently marched from the Dasht-i-Bedaolat at the head of the Bolan through Japriji towards Kalat. But there is also a very difficult Pass that leads from the Kachhi to Johan, which however would hardly be used by an invader as it abounds in strong positions, which would have to be forced before an advance could be made.

leave of Mir Ahmad, set out in the direction of Siwi, where after some time had elapsed Mirza Khan died, and his son Bakhtiar Khan ruled in his stead.

At this time Prince Muiz-ud-din<sup>77</sup> was at Multan; and this Prince had a very friendly feeling towards Nawab Bakhtiar Khan, so much so that he adopted the latter as his brother. After a time, however, Bakhtiar Khan<sup>78</sup> deliberately entered upon a course of unworthy conduct. A certain man named Malik, who himself was a kinsman of the late Mirza Khan, had a daughter whom he had betrothed to his nephew, notwithstanding which Bakhtiar Khan forcibly abducted the girl and took her to his own abode. Malik and his nephew had gone to Shikarpur, and on their return home they became aware of what had transpired. At the time Malik appeared to be honoured at having Bakhtiar Khan as a son-in-law, and the latter also showed very great friendship towards the father of the girl. After a time Malik having taken his nephew along with him went as complainant to Multan where he represented his case to the Prince, who addressed Bakhtiar Khan desiring him, as his adopted brother, to give up the girl to her father, at the same time threatening him with the displeasure of the Emperor Aurangzebe in the event of the girl not being surrendered. Bakhtiar Khan having refused to give up the girl, her father, Malik, proceeded to Delhi to lay his case before the Emperor, and returned bearing an order that Bakhtiar Khan should be beheaded. The Prince sent again to Bakhtiar Khan who refused to comply with his request. The Royal forces thereupon moved out against the Barozais, who had resorted to arms, and in the action that took place Nawab Bakhtiar Khan was slain,<sup>79</sup> and after his death the countries that formed the dominions of the Barozais passed out of their hands into those of Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhora, and in Kalat Mir Ahmad, the Ruler, also died, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Mir Mehrab. Mir Ahmad had ruled over the country for thirty years.

In the reign of Mir Mehrab Khan, after some time had elapsed, Mian Nur Muhammad<sup>80</sup> and D'aud Khan, his brother, having fled from the Emperors of Delhi made for the hilly country, whereupon orders were issued by Prince Muizuddin from Multan to the Ruler of Kalat threatening him with the Royal displeasure if the Kalhoras were permitted to pass through his country unmolested. Thereupon the Khan with the forces he could collect cut off means of escape beyond Karkh and Chako, and when Mian Nur Muhammad and D'aud Khan reached that locality, they asked to be permitted to pass through on their way to Persia; but the Khan replied that he had received orders to prevent their passage through his territory from Prince Muiz-ud-din. At length both parties resorted to open violence, and Mir Mehrab Khan attained to the dignity of martyrdom, inasmuch as a shot fired from his own ranks struck him, after which he lingered for two or three days. He summoned Akhund Muhammad Saleh, his Wazir, and willed that as both of his sons, Mir Ahmad and Mir Abdullah Khan, were minors, they might not be allowed to succeed him at once, but that Mir Samandar, the eldest son of his elder brother, Mir

<sup>77</sup> Afterwards Jehandar Shah, Emperor of Delhi, put to death by Farokhsir, his successor, after being defeated by the latter near Agra, in Muharram 17th, 1135 A.H. (February 4th, A.D. 1718 (Elphinstone's India).

<sup>78</sup> In the Tufhat-ul-Kiram, this Chief, ruler of the district of Siwi, is called Bakhtawar Khan, Pani, and it is probable that the Barozais may be a division of this clan, so that the Chief might be called by the name either of his sub-tribe or that of the clan at large. Pani was an Afghan clan "whose descendants were settled in the country of Sangh Mundahi contiguous to Shikarpur" (Dörn's Afghans). The Pani tribe emigrated to Hindustan almost altogether, and were settled in the mountainous districts of Jeypur and Jodhpur; they engaged largely in trade and also took part in the politics of the Dekhan, in the times of Moghal Emperors of Delhi. Sangh is the village of Sanghan and Mandahi, the Kwat Maudahi valley west of Pabar Kasah.

<sup>79</sup> The Tufhat-ul-Kiram gives rather a different account of their transactions. Yar Muhammad Kalhora associated with his adherents in Sindh and aided by a Brahui contingent under Ikhs Khan, Brahui, commenced operations against Bakhtawar Khan, in the vicinity of the Manchar lake (they must have consequently descended the Gaj Pass). Bakhtawar Khan was ruler of Siwi, and held a large tract west of the Indus, and the town of Larkhana was held by his brother Malik Allah Baksh. This town was taken among others by the Kalhoras, and Bakhtawar Khan applied to the Shahzade Muiz-ud-din (at Multan) for aid against the rising power of the Kalhoras. The Prince at once complied with this request and set his troops in motion towards Sindh. Bakhtawar Khan's heart misgave him; and as he did not wish to see the country under his charge overrun by the Royal troops (but he had doubtless other private reasons for this sudden change in his sentiments), he prayed the Prince to stay his march, and his request being refused, he summoned his forces and opposed the Royal troops by force of arms and was slain in the action that took place at Uchh, 30 miles north of Jacobabad.

<sup>80</sup> The Prince Muiz-ud-din having heard that the Kalhoras had again drawn to a head marched into Sindh to put down their faction, and Yar Muhammad having departed to Kalat, at first the Brahuis opposed him, and after a severe engagement, Mehrab Khan took his two sons, Mian Nur Muhammad and Mian Muhammad Khan, as hostages and having made peace assigned them all a place in his presence until 1111 A.H. (1699-1700 A.D.) Tufhat-ul-Kiram. Details of this affair were possibly not known to the author whose account has been just alluded to, and as it was a minor incident in the history of Sindh, it did not affect the narrative and was permitted to pass unquestioned.

Kambar, should be placed on the *gadi*, and, according to the dying request of the late Khan, Mir Samandar was declared Ruler of Kalat, after which the Emperors of Delhi took Kur<sup>91</sup> and Karachi<sup>92</sup> from the Mianzais<sup>93</sup> and made them over to Mir Samandar as an equivalent for the blood of the late Khan. On Mir Mehrab Khan being wounded, Mir Samandar seized the Kalhora brothers and brought them with him to Kalat. After some time they managed to effect an escape from their prison, and made for their own country by way of Johan; on the road they met one Khiar, a man of the tribe of Lehri,<sup>94</sup> and the Kalhoras implored him to conceal the fact of their having taken that route. But the men of Mir Samandar having arrived on the track of the Kalhoras, Khiar as soon as he was asked gave them information that the Kalhoras had passed on. The pursuit being continued they were overtaken and captured, and brought to Mir Samandar, who was sitting in State. On the fugitives being placed before him, the Wazir Akhund Muhammad Saleh placed his own turban upon Mian Nur Muhammad.<sup>95</sup> At length after some time the Kalhoras were allowed to depart owing to orders having been received to that effect from the Chagatae Emperor.<sup>96</sup> They departed into Sindh where in course of time Mian Nur Muhammad became the Ruler of the country,<sup>97</sup> and he used to pay Mir Samandar forty thousand rupees every year from the "Chabutra"<sup>98</sup> of Khudabad.<sup>99</sup> Khiar, the Lehri, visited Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhora in his prosperity and was rewarded by him as an old acquaintance with a khillat and the present of one hundred rupees, and annually two thousand rupees were despatched to Akhund Muhammad Saleh in remembrance of the day when he placed his turban on Mir Nur Muhammad and his brother in the presence of Mir Samandar.

Mir Samandar killed his brother Kalandar in Shirin-Ab on the borders of Mastung, where his tomb is still visible. After some time had elapsed the Prince Muiz-ud-din summoned Mir Samandar to his presence in Multan. One day the Prince bestowed a lakh of rupees upon Mir Samandar, who at once divided the money among his Brahui and other followers whom he had brought with him. The Prince having called Akhund Muhammad Saleh, bestowed another lakh of rupees on Mir Samandar, remarking that he was the Hâtîm of his age, but that this sum ought to be reserved for his own future use; notwithstanding this advice, a part of this sum was also distributed among the men of note and even the Brahuïs, and only a balance retained by the Khan. The Emperor fixed a yearly subsidy<sup>100</sup> of two lakhs of rupees to be paid to the Khan, and having distinguished him by the bestowal of a valuable khillat, the Prince permitted Mir Samandar to leave for his own country. Prior to the arrival of the Khan in his own territory, a Persian Commander Thâmâsp Beg by name had arrived at Mastung to take possession of the country. Mir Samandar having returned in the nick of time, a battle took place between the Khan's troops and those of Thâmâsp Beg, who was himself slain by the

<sup>91</sup> The situation of this district or town is not known—it perhaps may have been contiguous to Karachi.

<sup>92</sup> Vide Appendix 8. Karachi.

<sup>93</sup> Mianzais, i.e., the Kalhoras, whose title as members of a family of religious persuasion was "Mian."

<sup>94</sup> The Lehri tribe inhabits the country around Johan and about Sauni, another well known locality in the vicinity of Mungachar. They also hold lands in the Kachhi, and are nomadic in their habits.

<sup>95</sup> In order to give them his protection, and save them from the ire of his master, the Kalhoras were very probably ordered into confinement, instead of being punished more seriously.

<sup>96</sup> Emperors of Delhi.

<sup>97</sup> After those two years in 1118 A.H. (spent in Kalat) Mir Yar Muhammad returned to Sindh with his sons, having been summoned by his adherents, and Iltâz Khan Brahui was taken on as an ally, who stayed in Sindh until the affairs of the Kalhoras had taken a successful turn, when he retired to Kalat. (Tufhat-ul-Kirâm). Iltâz Khan was probably deputed by Mir Samandar, but no mention is made in the Tufhat-ul-Kirâm with regard to the annual tribute of Rs. 40,000 which was probably kept secret by the Rulers of Sindh.

<sup>98</sup> Chabutra is the duties levied on all articles brought into or taken out of a city.

<sup>99</sup> Khudabad was the capital of Sind under the Kalhoras, before Mir Ghulam Shah Kalhora built Hyderabad in 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.). Khudabad was taken from the Pahwar (or Ponwhar) tribe. The remains of the ruined town of Khudabad are situated in the Dadu Taluka, on the road leading from Bhan to Dadu, to the west of the Indus River. Not far from the place is the lofty tomb of Yar Muhammad Kalhora, the first Prince of this dynasty. The site of Khudabad is at present quite deserted. (From the Tufhat-ul-Kirâm, and Gazetteer of Sind.)

<sup>100</sup> The directest and easiest route from Kandahar, at this time held by the Persians, was through Peshin and the Bolan Pass which bordered on the territories of the Khans of Kalat, and this route would have been altogether thrown open to the Persians, if the Khans of Kalat had been won over by them. Hence the importance of attaching a ruler of Kalat of Mir Samandar's character to the interests of the Emperor of Delhi, so as to make the Kalat State a "buffer" between the Empires of Persia and Hindustân.

Khan's own hand. The districts of Zhob and Bori, and Thal and Chotiali,<sup>101</sup> which are considered as being the country of the Kakar Páthans, were plundered by Mir Samandar.

Mir Abdullah Khan and Mir Ahmad were both sons of Mir Mehrab Khan, and inasmuch as the latter was the elder of the two, there was nothing to do for it but to place him on the *gadí* of Kalat upon the death of Mir Samandar,<sup>102</sup> and as the Akhund, Muhammad Saleh, advised Mir Ahmad to settle Shál Kot<sup>103</sup> on his brother, and his advice being acted upon, Mir Abdullah received that district for his share and went and dwelt at Shál. After a year had elapsed Mir Abdullah sent for Mir Firuz Raisani, of the family known as Jamalzai, and said to him that notwithstanding that Mir Ahmad was his elder brother, yet he was a sensualist,<sup>104</sup> and he (Abdullah) was apprehensive that their country might be wrested from him, the country which had been acquired by the sword and which had been watered by the hearts' blood of their forefathers, and that it was better to insure its safety than to have to bewail its loss. Mir Firuz advised Abdullah Khan to return with him to his tribesmen, and accordingly the latter repaired to the dwelling of Mir Isa Rustomzai.<sup>105</sup> At that time the office of Chief of his clan was in the hands of Mir Umar, son of Jamal; his younger brother, Lashkari by name, advised him that as he was the Chief of the Raisanis he (Lashkari) would bring Mir Abdullah to him, lest Mulla Isa Rustomzai might cause dissensions between them and Mir Abdullah.

The Raisanis, in common with all the people of Sarabán, were accustomed to migrate every winter to the Kachhi; for although the Kachhi in reality belonged to the Kalhoras, still the leaders of the Brahuís kept up an acquaintanceship with them, as the tribesmen of the latter used to enter that territory every winter and return to the hilly country on the arrival of summer. And on this occasion, according to their custom, they left Mir Abdulla and proceeded to the Kachhi to pass the winter. Next spring, when the Raisanis had returned from the Kachhi, and had returned to Mastung, they levied their fighting men and presented themselves before Mir Abdullah. Upon hearing of this occurrence, Mir Ahmad raised the tribes of Jahalaban,<sup>106</sup> as well as certain of the tribes of Sarabán, in Mastung. And on the opposite side the Raisanis having rallied round Mir Abdullah, a battle took place between the brothers in which Mir Dád Mingal of the tribe of Shahizai having encountered Mir Abdullah himself in single combat, wounded the latter on his face, who also received many other wounds in this action. But notwithstanding, Mir Ahmad was defeated and driven back on Kalat. The Akhund Muhammad Saleh after this battle patched up a peace between the two factions.

The ancestors of the Akhund had emigrated from Shiráz in Persia to Kalat, and having obtained the office of Wazir to the Ahmadazais of Kalat, they settled in that place and built a dwelling for themselves at the foot of the Miri (or citadel) which is to this day known as the residence of the

<sup>101</sup> These districts must also have been visited by Baber in A.H. 910 (1505) when shortly after mounting the throne of Kabul, he went first against the Afghans of Kohat; thence through Banu, Banganah and Daman down the Indus to Multan and the borders of Sind, in the course of which he plundered the Isakhail and other tribes met with, and returned through Chotiali and Abistadeh. Erskine's Baber and Humayun. Baber must have traversed the Bori and Zhob valleys in his route from Chotiali to Abistadeh. When Ibrahim Shah, the last of the family of Lodi, fell in the battle of Paniput on 7th Rajab 982 A.H., fighting against Baber, Shadi Khan Kakar, one of Ibrahim's principal chiefs, fell in the same action, with 500 of his kinsmen. Salim Khan Kakar was Governor of Gour in the reign of Sultan Adeli of the Sur Dynasty. (The 7th Rajab 982 A.H. equivalent to 21st March, 1526 A.D.)

<sup>102</sup> The Akhund states that Mir Samandar reigned 16 years. A seal of this Khan attached to a sanad bears date 1109 A.H., the year in which he ascended the throne undoubtedly. The date of his death is therefore some time in 1125 A.H. The sanad alluded to bears date 1127 A.H., and contradicts the date just obtained. No sanads of Mir Ahmad, Samandar's successor, have been obtained so far, but three of Mir Abdullah's bear the date of 1125 A.H. which is also undoubtedly the date of his accession to the *gadí* of Kalat; from 1125 to 1128 A.H., both dates inclusive would be nearly four years, and as the narrative appears fairly correct, these dates have been retained in the absence of better information; as there is only that one sanad available which gives the date on Samandar's seal, but which would also contradict the dates obtainable from the Akhund's narrative, and as it is possible that the former may have been forged subsequently, or written by mistake 1127 instead of 1117, the dates obtained from the narrative have been adhered to. Three sanads of Mir Abdullah have so far been examined; but the tribes in Lower Baluchistan and around Kalat may have others of his and of earlier Khans in their possession.

<sup>103</sup> Appendix 4. Shál.

<sup>104</sup> There are no sanads known to exist that bear Mir Ahmad's seal; nor is his name ever mentioned in any of the traditions or stories of the ancient Khans.

<sup>105</sup> The family of Rustomzais are settled at this day in Khanak. They are a branch of the Raisanis. Sardar Allah Yar Khan is their representative.

Thalawan. i



Akhund. After peace had been restored the Akhund Muhammad Saleh brought Mir Abdullah to his dwelling, while Mir Ahmad dwelt in the citadel. One day it fell out that Mir Ahmad being unwell had put on the skin <sup>106</sup> of a freshly killed sheep upon his body. Mir Abdullah considering this a very favourable opportunity ascended to the citadel, and seized his brother who had at this time ruled four years. At the time that Mir Abdullah had taken up his abode in the Akhund's house, the latter had tents pitched at the source of his own kárez and had taken up his abode in them. As soon as he had seized his brother, Mir Abdullah sent for the Akhund and appointed him Wazir, and after a while left Kalat with the forces that had been collected and raided the lands of Kachhi, plundering the town of Gáján and slaying many of its inhabitants. The Naib of the Kalhoras was at this time in Ganjabá,<sup>107</sup> but was unequal to meeting Mir Abdullah in the field.

While he was in the Kachhi, a certain man, a kinsman of the Ruler of Dera Ghazi Khan, came to Mir Abdullah to complain to him of the tyranny of the Ruler of that place, and inasmuch as Mir Abdullah was "a lion in valour" <sup>108</sup> upon hearing this man's complaint he considered he was bound in honour to avenge the injury done in the same way as if it had been done to himself; and together with the fighting men of Sarábán and Jahalabán he set out for Dera Ghazi Khan, where he arrived in due course. The city of Dera Ghazi Khan was plundered, and he intended to occupy the country for some time, but the Akhund and the Chiefs of Sarábán and the Jahalabán represented the extreme inadvisability of such a proceeding, but when they found that their representations were not attended to, each one of the Sardars pulled out a peg of the Khan's tent and brought it down, and carried him off against his will towards Kalat. After this expedition was over, the Khan set out for Makrán. In this country there is a hill fastness of strength called Darámb and the Makránis on the approach of Mir Abdullah, having abandoned the intrigues for which they are famous, took refuge in the Darámb Koh.<sup>109</sup> But notwithstanding its strength, Mir Abdullah assaulted their position and put the Makránis to the sword, after which having ravaged the whole of Makrán <sup>110</sup> he returned to Kalat. After his return from the Makrán expedition, Mir Abdullah appointed Mulla Isa, Chief of the Rustomzais, Commander-in-Chief, and despatched him with a force to invade Kandahar. This expedition was unsuccessful, and Sardar Mulla Isa was killed. Mir Abdullah having assembled another force took the field in person, and invaded Kandahar with a view to retrieve the disaster and avenge the death of his Commander. Shah Hussein,<sup>111</sup> the Ghilzai King of Kandahar, advanced to repel the invasion, and at the locality known as Laili wa Majnun a severe action took place between both parties in which Mir Abdullah himself overthrew the Ghilzai Chief, who was, however, allowed to retreat unpursued. The loss on both sides was very great, but the Kandahar troops were thoroughly beaten and the Khan of Kalat, after ravaging the surrounding country, returned to his capital. The districts of

*The kinsman  
of the ruler of  
Dera Ghazi Khan  
complained to  
Mir Abdullah that  
his kinsman had  
taken away his  
goat by force.  
Killed it & being  
petitioned he maltreated  
him. Hearing this  
Mir Abdullah could  
not sleep the  
whole night & was  
restless. He  
asked the cause  
thereof, he saw  
that the goat belonged  
to him for redress  
when ever he closed  
his eyes*

<sup>106</sup> This is generally done. The warmth of the raw skin, perhaps, causes a profuse perspiration to take place. While this treatment is being carried out, the patient remains indoors, and the skin is kept on him for the best part of the day.

<sup>107</sup> Gandaváh.

<sup>108</sup> He was known as the "Falcon of the hills" owing to his daring courage, and his exploits (Tufhat-ul-Kirám).

<sup>109</sup> Darámb Koh is a massive hill of the nature of a plateau, with a spring on the summit. It is a conspicuous object from the sea as it rises above 3,000 feet above sea-level. It is about 30 miles north-east of Gwadar, and the road from this place to Kej passes by the foot of the Darámb Koh. Makrán abounds in such naturally strong positions, which have for ages immemorial afforded refuge to the people in time of their distress.

<sup>110</sup> In 1723 Bandar Abbas was attacked by a body of 5,000 men from the neighbouring province of Baluchistan who expected to find great wealth at that sea port. They captured the town, but were driven off from the European factories.

<sup>111</sup> Hussein, or Shah Hussein, Ghilzai, brother of Mahmud Khan, the conqueror of Persia, held Kandahar after the death of their father, Mir Vaia. The present city of Kandahar was built by Ahmad Shah in 1753 or 1754 to which he gave the name of Ahmad Shahi and the title of Ashraf-ul-balad.

The spot Laili wa Majnun, where the encounter between the Ghilzais and Mir Abdullah took place, is in the vicinity of Gatai, 58 miles east of Kandahar in the direction of Peshin and on the road to the latter, and 4,050 feet above sea-level.

Upon the 4th Shawal 1140 A.H. (4th April 1728) Nádir Shah set out from Mashad to reduce the Abdalis in the country around Herát who had thrown off the Persian yoke, after the Ghilzai invasion of that country, and it will be seen in the account of the investiture of Mohabat Khan of Kalat by Nádir Shah, at Kandahar, with the Government of Baluchistan, that his father, the late Mir Abdullah, had earned the gratitude of the conqueror of Kandahar. It is probable, therefore, that the attacks on Kandahar from the direction of Kalat kept Hussein engaged and prevented his affording assistance to the Abdalis at Herát during their struggle with Nádir Shah's troops, and that this was the service rendered by Mir Abdullah to the Persian Government for which his son was rewarded later on.

Peshin and Sharawak<sup>113</sup> were, however, annexed to Kalat; and Mir Firuz Raisani was appointed as Naib to the first, and Sultan Kaim Khan Shahwani to the second, of these two districts.

Shah Hussein of Kandahar and Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhora of Sindh now formed an alliance with the object of attacking Mir Abdullah Khan simultaneously from the direction of Kandahar and of Sindh. The forces of the Afghans reached Peshin,<sup>114</sup> and Mir Firuz Raisani, the Governor of the district, was slain by them, while the forces of the Kalhoras marched up the Bolan, and advanced against Shál Kot, which was in a short time besieged by the allied forces. The fort of Shál was garrisoned by a strong force of Brahuís, while Mir Abdullah himself lay at Mastung<sup>115</sup> with the remainder of the forces of the Sarábán and Jahalabán tribes, and here he was joined by Sultan Kaim Khan who had been turned out of Shorawak. The Brahuís in the fort of Shál held out stoutly, while the besiegers were harassed by Mir Abdullah; they were in consequence unable to effect anything, and on the approach of winter the forces of the Kalhoras retired to Sindh, and those of Kandahar to Kandahar.

During the time that Mir Ahmad was Khan, no demand had been made for the payment of the subsidy of 40,000 rupees that the Kalhoras had paid annually to Mir Samandar during his life-time, and neither had the Kalhora Chiefs remitted the same voluntarily during Mir Ahmad's reign. But when Mir Abdullah became Khan of Kalat, he raised a force and marched against the Kalhoras to enforce payment of the subsidy. On hearing of the movement of the Kalat forces towards Sindh, the Kalhora sent 40,000 rupees and one elephant to Mir Abdullah, which met him at the locality known as Bibi Náni, in the Bolan Pass, and on receipt of these he retraced his footsteps to Kalat.

Mir Abdullah was possessed by a strong desire to add the fertile lands of the Kachhi to his other dominions, and for this purpose he assembled a force with which to invade that district which at that time was a part of the dominions of the Kalhoras and governed for them by their Naib Murad Ganjah.<sup>116</sup> The forces of Jahalabán and the Itazais were ordered to assemble and to march on Ganjabah by way of the Mula Pass, while he himself, together with the forces he had already assembled, descended on the Kachhi by the Bolan. Dádhar was taken and plundered, and the Khan advanced to a place called Chandrir<sup>117</sup> where he halted. Before the forces of Jahalabán had effected a junction with him, Shah Bohara and Murad Ganjah, Naib of Ganjabah<sup>118</sup> accompanied by the forces of Sind, and of the whole of the Kachhi, marched against him, and owing to the forces of Jahalabán not having joined him, the forces at the disposal of the Khan were greatly inferior in numbers compared with those of the enemy. His son Mir Mohabat Khan was present in his father's camp and as his younger sons, Mir Nasir Khan and Mir Itaz, were both under age and as a long minority would be detrimental to the affairs of the Khanate, he desired the Akhund to take his eldest son to Kalat and

<sup>113</sup> Shorawak is situated at the foot of the hills about 60 miles in direct distance from Quetta towards the west. The Lora River issues from the hills in Shorawak and its waters are used to irrigate the lands; large crops are raised. The climate is hot in the summer. Shorawak was a district of the Kandahar Sarkar, "Shorábak 1,200 sheep, Afghans 200 horse, 100 foot." The inhabitants are Shirani and Barechi Afghans. In the winter, the Brahuís inhabiting the Sarlat and Bála-dasht, and the lower course of the Kákar Lora, enter Shorawak with their flocks for grazing. The reference to Shorawak just quoted is from the Ain-i-Akbari, Major Jarret's translation.

<sup>114</sup> See Appendix 4(a).

<sup>115</sup> Mastung is 40 miles from Shalkot (Quetta), and from his position here, Mir Abdullah could act effectively, not only on the rear of the forces besieging the fort of Shál, but also threaten the Sindh forces' line of communications in the Dasht-i-Bedaolat and the Bolan which is about 25 miles distant from Mastung. In 1143 Murad Kaliri, commonly called Ganjah, was appointed to Siwi and Kaisar, Magasai, Mir Wakodar, Sind, Lord of the Mahal of Shorán; the descendants of Ghoram Lashári Rás of the Mahal of Sanni, Miro Baladi (Buledi) of the Mahal of Kachi, and the land-holders in the Mahal of Bhagh Nari, the tribe of Bazuis owners of Dhadar; and the landholders of the Kohistan, and Kala Khan, and Bhar Khan, Amrani, Mahaldar of Kan Káni, each of whom were leaders of thousands of armed men, having behaved ill, joined themselves to Abdullah Khan, Lord of Kalat, who himself was named the "Falcon of the mountains," and beat the signal drum of strife. In 1143 A.H. Khuda Yar Khan advanced and took the fort of Kirta from Mobarak Khan and defeated Ismael Khan Brahui and slew Kákar Brahui. After these events Abdullah Khan made peace (Tufhat-ul-Kirám; 1143 A.H. = 1729-30 A.D.).

1143 A.H. = 1730-31 A.D.).

<sup>116</sup> In 1142 A. H. Murád Kaliri, commonly known as Ganjah, was appointed to Siwi. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>117</sup> In 1144 A. H. Abdullah Khan having raised an Army of Brahuís, "Covenant breakers," attacked the lands of Kachhi, and directed his course to meet with the recompense in store for him. Khudayar Khan Kalhora, having taken up his quarters at Larkhans, sent forward leaders of note to repel Mir Abdullah Khan, to Chanderi (whence place he had reached on his advance); a severe engagement took place in which the Brahui forces were defeated completely (*Ibid.*)—1144 A. H. = 1731-32 A.D.

<sup>118</sup> See appendix No. 5.

make him Khan, thereby removing him from the danger of perishing along with his father in the desperate struggle against overwhelming odds that would inevitably take place, and thus insure the succession to the *gadi* in the event of a defeat. The Akhund at first was loth to leave his master to his fate; but at length the entreaties of the Khan and several of the Chiefs who were with him prevailed against his own wishes, and for reasons of policy he was induced to leave the army and proceed to Kalat and place Mir Mohabat on the throne. In the meanwhile at Chandrir, in the vicinity of Khanpur,<sup>118</sup> a desperate struggle took place. Many of the Khan's followers were slain and the forces of the enemy were more than once driven back; but being excited by the reproaches of their leaders, they returned to the attack upon Mir Abdullah, who at length fell fighting bravely against great odds.<sup>119</sup>

1732  
ad.

Mir Abdullah left three sons. Mir Mohabat Khan, the eldest, was by a wife of the *Jat* tribe, while the next two, Mir Iltáz and Mir Nasir, were by another wife, Bibi Mariam Iltázai. After that Mir Mohabat had been placed on the *gadi*,<sup>120</sup> the Akhund caused him to assign Mastung for the support of his younger brothers and their mother. Mir Iltáz took up his residence there, and Mir Mohabat reigned for the next two years in Kalat without disturbance. After this time had elapsed Mir Lashkari, Raisáni, proceeded to Kalat and having bribed the gate-keepers with presents of money returned to Mastung and brought Mir Iltáz with certain of his adherents, reaching Kalat on the night of the *Id*; and the gate-keepers having opened the gates the party of Mir Lashkari brought Mir Iltáz into the citadel and placing him on the *gadi* proclaimed him Khan, and placed Mir Mohabat in custody. Upon this the Shahwanis of Iskalko<sup>121</sup> obtained the release of Mir Mohabat from durance, but as they were unable to provide him with a refuge, he fled to Wad where he remained for some time, hoping in vain to find adherents among the Mingals; he became disheartened, and saw no alternative but to surrender to his brother Mir Iltáz. Having done so, he commenced little by little to create a party favourable to his interests among the leading men of the Brahuis; Mir Iltáz was engrossed in sensuality, but Mir Lashkari having penetrated Mir Mohabat's designs informed Mir Iltáz Khan of them, and advised him to conciliate the tribes by means of largesses.

While these intrigues were in progress, Nádir Shah having taken possession of Persia, marched thence towards Herat, and, after a siege of some duration, took both the city of Herat itself as well as the country around. From Herat, Nádir marched against the Ghilzai Chief, Shah Husein,<sup>122</sup> who held possession of Kandahar, and a messenger arrived at Kalat from Nádir Shah summoning the Khan to repair to the Presence and make his formal submission, giving him an assurance of receiving honourable treatment. Upon this both Mir Iltáz and his brother, Mir Mohabat, prepared to proceed to the presence of the conqueror, accompanied by the Chiefs of Sárabán and Jahala-bán and Mir Iltáz sought out Mir Lashkari and entrusted a sum of money to his care for defraying the cost of the journey. Mir Lashkari warned the Khan that upon arriving at Kandahar, Nádir Shah would seize him and

<sup>118</sup> Khanpur is in the vicinity of Shikarpur, vide note on the Barozais of Siwi and Dádhar.

<sup>119</sup> It is said that Mir Abdullah's body was not found after the battle.

<sup>120</sup> In 1145 A.H. (1732 A.D.) Sahibzada Muhammad Murad Yab Khan advanced together with the men of note among his Chiefs to Khijar (*etc*) and married the daughter of Murad Ali, son of the uncle of Mir Abdullah Khan (Tufhat-ul-Kirám).

<sup>121</sup> A locality about 8 or 10 miles north-east of Kalat, which is the head-quarters of this tribe.

<sup>122</sup> The fortunes of the Shah Alam Khail of the Hotak tribe of the Ghilzais were founded by Mir Vais, their Chief, who, in the reign of Shah Husein, A.D. 1708, the last of the Saffavian Kings of Persia, was driven to rebellion by the Persian Governor, Gurgin Khan, of Kandahar. Mir Vais was successful and maintained himself against the expeditions sent to subdue him, and was also engaged in hostilities with the Abdalis who had defeated the Persian Governor of Herat, and occupied that country in 1716 A.D. Mir Vais left two sons, Mahmud and Husein. The former defeated the Abdallis. Having first to make his way to the throne of Kandahar by the murder of his uncle, Mir Abdullah, he invaded Kirmán but was defeated by Lutí 'Alí Khan, a Persian General. In 1731, returned with an Army of 25,000 men, marched on Isfahan after having been repulsed in attacks on Kirmán and Yazd. Besieged Isfahan, which surrendered on 12th October 1722 A.D. Mahmud, now King of Persia, had a troubled reign. After three years died a maniac in April A.D. 1725; succeeded by Ashraf, his cousin (son of that Mir Abdullah slain by Mahmud) who was embroiled with the Turks, whom he defeated and compelled to acknowledge him as King of Persia. On 2nd October 1729 A.D., beaten by Nádir Shah and again on 18th November of same year. The Afghans defeated decisively near Persepolis on 15th July 1780 A.D., dispersed, and slain wherever found. Ashraf, in attempting to regain Kandahar, was slain in Scistan by the son of Abdullah Khan, Baluch. One or two Afghans here and there might have escaped and in Makran, west of Kej, the descendants of these remains of the followers of Mahmud and Ashraf are (faintly) met with. (The above-mentioned dates are taken from Hanway's Travels.)

appoint Mir Mohabat as Ruler over Kalat and its territories, for the Brahui Sardars would themselves ask this thing of the Shah, as they were now favourably disposed towards Mir Mohabat. They, however, proceeded to Kandahar, and Mir Nasir Khan was left at Mastung as he was very young. Immediately on arriving at that place the Brahui Sardars petitioned the Shah that Mir Iltáz would be of no use to him as a vassal, and that he would be pleased to appoint Mir Mohabat as Khan over them, the Chiefs of the tribes, as he was capable of being a useful subject to the Shah. Mir Iltáz was thereupon put into custody and Mir Mohabat received a khilat and was nominated Khan of Kalat, and Lutf 'Ali,<sup>123</sup> a Persian, with five hundred horse, was placed at the disposal of Mir Mohabat, and the Khan, together with the Persian Commander, returned to his dominions. He seized Murad 'Ali, son of Mir Iltáz, and sent him, together with Mir Nasir Khan and his mother, as hostages to Kandahar, and the district of Shál was assigned for their support by the Shah.

While these young men were in the camp of Nádir Shah, a serious quarrel arose between the two brothers, and Mir Iltáz drew his sword and made as if to cut Nasir Khan over the head; the latter, in drawing his sword to parry the threatened attack, wounded Mir Iltáz fatally. Nádir Shah enquired into the circumstances, and was informed by those in charge of the Ahmadzai Princes that Mir Iltáz's death was entirely due to his own fault. But notwithstanding he resumed Shál Kot from the use to which its revenues had been put in providing for the maintenance of Mir Nasir and his mother and bestowed that district on Mir Mohabat Khan. And a year or so after, while Nádir was in Sindh,<sup>124</sup> Bibi Mariam having petitioned His Highness, the district of Shál Kot was taken away from Mir Mohabat, and a sum of money approximately equivalent to the revenues of that district was paid out of the Royal Treasury for the proper maintenance of herself and her son Nasir Khan and their retinue. After the fall of Omarkot, Bibi Mariam represented that her husband, Mir Abdullah, had met his death at the hands of the troops of the Kahlorás and that the equivalent blood-money should be taken from them and made over to the heirs of the deceased Khan. Nádir thereupon brought the Kalhora Chiefs to Larkhana and at the same time ordered Mir Mohabat to present himself there, and on his arrival Nádir sent Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhora and his son, Mian Ghulam Shah, to Mir Mohabat, so that the latter might avail himself of his right of revenging his father's death upon the person of him to whom it might be attributed. But Mir Mohabat Khan declined to wreak his vengeance, alleging that it was against the custom of a Brahui to kill a prisoner, but asked that the lands of the Kachhi and Siwi might be made over to him as an equivalent for the death of his father, Mir Abdullah, and to Sultan Kaim Khan were given the lands of Shál Kot and Dádhar in the Kachhi, and to Muhammad Hyat, the Akhund, was granted one kasa<sup>125</sup> upon every kharwár of grain, both from the Khan's share as well as that of the land-holders, and within the limits of Ganjabáh (*the lands*) called Kunará and in the vicinity of the country of Bhág and deh Barkhurdár which they now call Shar-i-Badah and within the district of Lehri, the country of the Taghachi<sup>126</sup> this grant of a kása on every kharwár of grain was bestowed on the Akhund by Nádir Shah: and Nádir, taking Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora as a hostage, departed from Sind and set out in the direction of his own country,<sup>127</sup> where, after some time had elapsed, he was murdered by his own brother-in-law, whereupon his followers dispersed. But Ahmad Shah, at that very time having paid his respects to the remains of the Shah, drew the Royal signet ring from the dead King's finger<sup>128</sup> and placed it on his own. Inasmuch as Mirza Taki says in the Shah

<sup>123</sup> A.D. 1736.

<sup>124</sup> 1739 A.D., *vide* appendix 6, transactions of Nádir Shah in Baluchistan.

<sup>125</sup> The Kasa is a wooden measure, like a bushel, for measuring grain.

<sup>126</sup> Haibat Khan and Nasib Khan, Taghuchi, with Tatar Khan, Kasi, had been Selim Shah's principal officers in the Punjab. — *Revolt of Ahmad Khan Sur against Sultan Adali Sur in A.H. 963 (A.D. 1555)*. *Brecher's Baber and Humayun*, Vol. II, Chapter IV, page 496. The name Taghuchi or Taghachi does not appear among the lists of Afghan tribes in Dörn's History of Afghans.

<sup>127</sup> Nádir returned by way of the Bolan, through Shál and Peshin; his artillery crossing the Khwajah Amrda range, by the "Top Kotál" whence its name. This Pass leads from Gulistan, the head-quarters of the Achkami Sardar, to Gwazjah, on the Daman at the western foot of the hills.

<sup>128</sup> Nádir Shah was assassinated in 1747 A.D.



Nameh-i-Nádir Shah, "that Ahmad Shah Abdalli<sup>129</sup> (alone) discharged the debt of gratitude he owed, inasmuch as he paid his respects to the corpse of the deceased monarch." And after the demise of Nadir Shah, Mir Nasir Khan, together with several others, such as Mir Kamál Khan Iltázai, and Sultan Zahro, Mingal, and Ali Darban, who is the progenitor of Mulla Abd-ul-Rahim, and Dárogah Mihir Ali, the ancestor of Dárogah Mulla Ghul Muhammad, having arrived at Shiraz sent Dárogah Mihir Ali from Shiraz to their families which were at the time in Kandahar-i-Nádiri.<sup>130</sup> While the Khan and his followers having passed through Kech and Makran, eventually reached the lands on the Hab River,<sup>131</sup> where they arrived at the dwelling of a certain one named Bot (or But) a Chhotta<sup>132</sup> who attended to the wants of the Khan and his party. Mir Nasir Khan having left the Hab proceeded to Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhora, and dwelt at Khudabad<sup>133</sup> for two years, while his mother remained in Kandahar, and his brother, Mir Mohabat, was lord of the Kachhi and the Kuhistan. Mir Nasir Khan then petitioned Ahmad Shah and also wrote to his Wazir, Shah Wali Khan Bámizai,<sup>134</sup> and between them a correspondence was established, until, upon the invitation of the Wazir, the Khan left Khudabad for Kandahar where he became the guest of the Wazir, Shah Wali, and was adopted by the latter as his son, who promised him the support of the interest he possessed with Ahmad Shah; and at the same time the Brahui tribes having nothing further to gain from Mir Mohabat Khan, began to correspond with Mir Nasir Khan, and Mir Mohabat having discovered that the Brahui tribes were corresponding with Nasir Khan, sent Sultan Kaim Khan Shahwani to the Court of Ahmad Shah. And when the latter arrived at Court and saw that Mir Mohabat's affairs were not in a flourishing condition, he formed the design of giving Mir Mohabat's daughter, the Bibi Ján, widow of Mir Gohár, in marriage to the Shah. The decree of fate was, however, so ordained, that on his return to Kalat his plans were totally disapproved of by his master with regard to the proposed marriage of his daughter. Upon receiving news of this, Ahmad Shah having become angered proceeded with his army to chastise Mir Mohabat. The Royal forces plundered Mastung and caused great loss to the Muhammad Shahi Brahuís, and seized the persons of the men of influence among the other tribes of Sarábán, and detained them in his camp as hostages for the good behaviour of their tribesmen. He then marched towards Kalat. But Haji Rahim Babi,<sup>135</sup> who was the spiritual guide of Ahmad Shah and also of Mir Mohabat, came forth bearing the Holy Koran in his hands, and met the Royal forces at Mungachar, and inasmuch as Ahmad Shah was a fol-

<sup>129</sup> Ahmad Shah fought his way through the greater part of Khorassan and repaired to Kandahar. He then intercepted a treasure coming from Hindustán for Nádir Shah. In October 1747, he was crowned at Kandahar, at the age, it is said, of 23 years.—(Elphinstone's Kabul.)

The Durrani, called Ardalis or Abdallis before the time of Ahmad Shah, are divided into two sections, one of four and the other of five clans. The first division contains the clans of Popalzai, Alikhozai, Barakzai, and Achakzai, and is called Zirak, while the second division called Panjpai consists of Nurzai, Alezai, Isbakzai, Maku, and Khogiani. The Popalzai live in the hilly north of Kandahar, and also in the country towards the Helmand. The greater part of Ahmad Shah's principal officers of State were chosen from this clan. The Barakzai was next in influence, but now that the clan has given several Amirs to the throne of Kabul, it has overshadowed the others. It inhabited the country south of Kandahar, the valley of the Arghasan, the banks of the Helmand. The Achakzais are said to have been a branch of the Barakzais, from whom they were separated by Ahmad Shah. They inhabit the western edge of the Peshawar District and the Khwajah Amran and Khojak ranges from Kodanai on the north to the Lora on the south. The Nurzais are to be found towards Seistan, and the Alizais in the Zamin Dawar. The Alikhozais are separated from the Nurzais by the Helmand River. The Isbakzais inhabit the country between Zamin Dawar and the desert. Makos and Khujianis are small clans with no distinct lands, many live at Kandahar, and some are mixed with the Nurzais.—(Elphinstone's Kabul.)

<sup>130</sup> The city built by Nádir after the sack of Kandahar city. It was placed in a bad site, and never became a permanent city.

<sup>131</sup> The Hab River rises near Zidi in Kalat territory and falls into the sea about 17 miles west of Karachi.

<sup>132</sup> A tribe who claim descent from the Sumeras who held authority in various districts of Sindh. The latter appear to have had a voice in the management of affairs since the days that the Bani Abbas Khalifs lost their hold on Sindh, though the viceregalities of the Governors of the Sultans of Ghor and Ghazni, A.H. 752 (1351 A.D.) is given in the Tufhat-ul-Kirkam, as the date of the termination of the dynasty of the Sumeras. They had suffered considerably by the raids of Ala-ud-din Khilji's troops [Ala-ud-din reigned from (1295-1315 A.D.) 695-715 A.H.]. At about this time the Samahs acquired Kachhi and Jam Unar elected Jam of the Samahs in Sindh in 752 A.H. (1351-52 A.D.)

<sup>133</sup> The direct road that connected Las Beyla and Hyderabad in Sindh passed through the hills by the Ziarat of Shah Bilawal, where there is a domed building with trees around it considerably north of modern Karachi. This was the part of the ancient route that led from Lower Sind into Makran.

<sup>134</sup> Bamizai, a sub-tribe of the Popalzai Abdallis. Under the descendants of Ahmad Shah, the office of Wazir was filled always by a member of the Popalzai tribe.—(Elphinstone's Kabul.)

<sup>135</sup> A tribe of Afghan origin settled in Kalat, where they have a separate quarter in the town. They used to engage largely in trade. "Babi, Gurgushtli's son, had four sons: 1 Mir, whence the Mirzais; 2 Kato, whence the Ketozais; 3 Pir, whence the Perzais; 4 Azrail of whose descendants nothing is known here." They all reside about Kandahar. (Dörns's History of Afghans. Annotations to Part II, page 120.)

lower of Islam, after he had paid all the respect due to the Holy Book, he passed over the offences of Mir Mohabat Khan, and having taken many prisoners from the Brahui tribes along with him (he marched to Kandahar) and from Kandahar he proceeded to Kabul. Mir Mohabat despatched Akhund Muhammad Hyat to his daughter, the widow of Mir Gohar; the Akhund, having taken the woman to Ghazni, married her there to the King, and obtained the release of the Brahuīs who were detained in the Royal camp, upon which he returned to Kalat. After some length of time, Ahmad Shah sent orders to Mir Mohabat Khan to attend his Court with all his Chiefs, and the Khan, together with his nobles, having set out for Kandahar, presented themselves at the Court of the King at that place. The Shah was displeased with Mir Mohabat, and the latter did nothing to lessen the ill-feeling<sup>126</sup> against him. And it came to pass that one day in open Darbar the Chiefs of the Brahuīs and Mir Nasir Khan raised an accusation against Mir Mohabat, who was deposed and his brother Mir Nasir Khan raised to the Chiefship of Kalat; the former being put in custody and consigned to the care of Thámás Khan, a Persian.

Mir Nasir Khan and the Sardars of the Brahui tribes, who were present, were distinguished by being presented with splendid khillats, and permission was accorded them to depart to their own country. And Mir Nasir having reached Kalat at an auspicious moment in 1164 A.H.<sup>127</sup> addressed himself to the task of governing his country equitably. Mir Nasir Khan had much to bear from the frequent demands of the Afghans in the early days of his reign with respect to tribute and military service.

Ahmad Shah having marched towards Kabul left the Khan-i-Khanán in the fort of Kandahar, and Mir Mohabat was himself at this time a prisoner in Kandahar. Treachery having been imputed to the Khan-i-Khanán, on the return of the Shah to Kandahar<sup>128</sup> he instructed his Wazir, Shah Wali Khan, that orders should be issued to the executioners to behead the Khan-i-Khanán, and as the Wazir had given his word to Mir Nasir Khan that the head of Mir Mohabat should be brought low, the opportunity that now offered was taken advantage of, and the executioners were instructed that both the Khan-i-Khanán and the Khan of the Baluchis should be beheaded and their heads presented to the Shah. These orders were duly carried out, and when the heads were produced in Darbar by the executioners, the Shah enquired to whom the second head had belonged. On being informed that it was that of the late Khan of the Baluchis the Shah was filled with anger, and turning to his Wazir asked him how he had dared to act thus on his own responsibility, and without the orders of his master slay a prisoner who had done nothing worthy of death, as it would imperil his sovereign's good name. Orders were issued that Mir Mohabat Khan's remains should be conveyed with every mark of respect to Kalat, in charge of several men of position and influence, who should be entrusted with a considerable sum of money for that purpose. At every stage on the route money was lavishly distributed until Kalat itself was reached, where the corpse received due interment, after which those who had escorted it returned on their homeward journey.

Ahmad Shah owing to his troubles with the Afghans made frequent demands unjustly for tribute from Mir Nasir Khan,<sup>129</sup> and the Khan having become desperate at the rapacity of the Afghans, remained at Kalat in a state bordering on rebellion. At length an express having come from the Shah making fresh demands, and bringing fresh requisitions upon the assistance of Mir Nasir, the latter summoned his nobles and the Akhund, Muhammad Hyat, and expressed his determination to send back the messenger, with a flat refusal to comply with the requirements of the Shah. The Akhund and the nobles, however, represented that as he owed his throne to the bounty of Ahmad Shah, it would be ungrateful on his part to refuse altogether to obey the orders received. Their advice was acted upon and the Khan proceeded as far as the district of

<sup>126</sup> *Vide* Appendix 7.

<sup>127</sup> 1164 A.H. corresponds with 1750-51 A.D.

<sup>128</sup> In 1748, in the spring takes Kabul from the Governor (left in it by Nádir Shah) Nasir Khan, who had declared for the Emperor of Delhi.—(Elphinstone's *Kabul*.)

<sup>129</sup> The Khan of Kalat apparently paid a quit-rent or tribute for his country. His successor certainly did so. Military service was another condition, except in the case of civil war among the members of the Royal Family.

Peshin in company with the Royal messenger; here a second time he called together the Akhund and the entire body of Sardars who were accompanying him, and said it was not advisable for him to proceed any further as he despaired of any good resulting from his visit: for—

“The heart is a glass, when broken who can repair it? It is not of silver that it can be fashioned and broken up (at pleasure).”

At length having called up the Royal messenger, the Khan refused to accompany him any further, and returned to Kalat.<sup>140</sup> And as he was on his way back from Peshin to Kalat, and had reached Mastung, he plundered and devastated that locality, after which he arrived at Kalat in due course. Shortly after, a certain man having come to Kalat from the village of Iskalko brought news that the Shawánis of the tribe of Hásil Khánzai<sup>141</sup> had broken out into rebellion. Upon hearing this news the Khan marched upon Iskalko, and the Hásil Khánzais being hard pushed, one of the kinsmen of Kaim<sup>142</sup> Khan Shawáni, Bahádur Khan by name, and who was a nephew of Sultán Kaim Khan, fled by stealth to Ahmad Shah for redress. And Ahmad Shah with the Royal retinue marched upon Kalat, and the Khan and his soldiers prepared to hold out in Kalat. The Royal forces having arrived surrounded Kalat on every side, and many encounters took place between the besieged and the besiegers.<sup>143</sup> And as the Shah was an ardent follower of Islam, and at the time of prayer the call of the Moazin within the city having reached his ears, he became thoughtful and considering how that the besieged being followers of the Prophet it was not lawful for him to shed their blood. And accordingly orders were issued to the master of his artillery, that the cannon might not be laid truly to bear on the fort; and all the chief men about the Shah, by the advice of the Wazir Shahwali Khan, did not issue forth from their positions in the lines, with the exception of Barkhurdár Khan Achakzái, who being jealous of the Wazir assaulted the hill of Shah-i-Mardan,<sup>144</sup> and in that assault Kasim Khan and Amir Khan of the Mamaseni tribe attained to the dignity of martyrdom. For the Shah had at first given orders that attacks should be made on the Khan's position and the Wazir had held back the troops from actively prosecuting the siege, and prior to the Shah's orders, which were issued at the instance of the Wazir, Barkhurdar had delivered his attack in which Kasim and Amir Khan<sup>145</sup> together with other Brahuis, were killed. And the tactics hitherto employed having been changed, the Wazir wrote to Násir Khan<sup>146</sup> that if he came and made his submission to the Shah, he, the Wazir, would guarantee his safety, as he had already adopted Mir Násir Khan as his son; but that if Mir Násir proved himself to be obstinate and refused to submit, the Shah was as the shadow of God on earth, and whose anger could not always be restrained by him (the Wazir): and on receipt of this letter the Khan despatched Akhund Muhammad Hyat Khan to wait on the Wazir, and the latter having taken the Akhund to the King, he was accorded the honour of an interview. The Shah enquired what was the reason that detained the Khan from attending the court and making his submission, and the Akhund in reply stated that his master was desirous of a safe conduct and honourable reception. The Shah enquired on what account he required a safe conduct and what honours he desired to obtain, and a second time the Akhund said that his master desired that his offences might be overlooked. And the Shah having consented, it was arranged that the safe conduct should be sworn on the Koran, and that the Wazir should himself go and bring Násir Khan into the Presence. This being done the latter attended the King and made his sub-

<sup>140</sup> The rebellion of Mir Násir Khan took place in the summer of 1758 A.D. according to Elphinstone.

<sup>141</sup> This is the tribe of the Sardar of the Shahwanis—*vide* genealogical tree.

<sup>142</sup> The late Mir Mohabat Khan's agent, of whom mention has been made. The rebellion of the Shahwanis was probably due to the fact that the late Mir Mohabat had left male issue whose right to the throne was better than that of Mir Násir.

<sup>143</sup> The siege lasted 40 days.—(Elphinstone's *Kabul*.)

<sup>144</sup> A low but conspicuous hill that overlooks the town of Kalat from the south.

<sup>145</sup> *Vide* Appendix 8. The Mamaseni and Báseri tribes.

<sup>146</sup> The affairs of Ahmad Shah were progressing unfavourably elsewhere, and as his presence was necessary to put them on a firm footing, he was naturally desirous of terminating the siege of an unimportant fort such as Kalat. The Prince Taimur, eldest son of Ahmad Shah, had invaded India, but had been beaten and expelled from the Punjab in 1758 A. D.; meanwhile the revolt of Mir Násir Khan took place which delayed the Shah in Baluchistan. After the negotiations with the Khan of Kalat were terminated, the Shah proceeded by the Bolan to Shikarpur and thence to the Punjab (*Fourth invasion of Ahmad Shah, Elphinstone's History of India, page 748*).

mission. The Shah honoured him and the Akhund with khillats, after which the complaints of the Shahwanis against the Khan were enquired into and dismissed by the Shah. The nephew of Sultan Kaim Khan Shahwani, Bahadur Khan, who had gone to the Shah to Kandahar together with the others, were made over to Násir Khan, and on the latter saying he would not be able to restrain them from making false charges in the future, the Shah took the men back with him to Kandahar, and having summoned a scribe, had Sannads drawn out giving these men the lands of Kahi<sup>147</sup> and Badáni. Násir Khan attended the Shah on his homeward journey as far as Peshin, when he was permitted to return to Kalat. X

Ahmad Shah<sup>148</sup> was engaged in hostilities with the Governor Ali Mardan of Mashhad, but the forces which he had regularly despatched had been defeated and compelled to retreat. An express was despatched to Násir Khan, conveying a valuable khillat with a request for his assistance, with the whole available forces of Baluchistan. The tribes of Sarábán and Jahalabán having mustered their fighting men together with those of the other Baluch tribes, Mir Násir Khan put himself at their head and presented himself before the Shah at Mashhad,<sup>149</sup> the sacred. The Khan's mother herself accompanied her son on this expedition.

The Shah issued orders that Násir Khan and his forces, together with Jahan Khan, Popalzai Sardar, and his men, should march against 'Ali Mardan to Turshiz.<sup>150</sup> Having arrived, on the day of battle, the Khan arranged with Khan Jahan that he should be allowed to attack the enemy with his forces while the Durrani should remain in reserve to help the Khan if necessary, and the latter having agreed, the Khan drew out his forces for the attack. The front of 'Ali Mardán's<sup>151</sup> forces was covered by a Karez which was also strengthened by Sangars. But owing to the successes he had obtained over the forces sent against him by Ahmad Shah, when the forces of Násir Khan advanced, 'Ali Mardán having mounted led out his forces from the strong position they occupied and charged the Baluchis. The men of Jahalabán, as soon as their opponents got within range, opened fire on the advancing troops and made great slaughter in their ranks. Mir Násir Khan himself was actively engaged during the action in the course of which 'Ali Mardán was himself killed by a match-lock bullet, and the forces of Sarábán charging at this moment completely overthrew their opponents. The son of 'Ali Mardán escaped from the field and threw himself into his fort, in which he maintained himself against the attacks of his enemies. Jahan Khan summoned him to surrender. In reply 'Ali Mardán's son agreed to do so only on condition that the Khan of the Baluch guaranteed his safety. Násir Khan having given the guarantee asked for, 'Ali Mardán's son came out of the fort and made his submission to the generals of Ahmad Shah, after which he was allowed to return to his fort again. Mir Násir Khan and Jahan Khan having completed this affair rejoined the Shah at Mashhad. Here the Shah, to acknowledge the services rendered by them, bestowed rich khillats on Mir Násir Khan, the Akhund and the Sardars of Sarábán and Jahalabán, and added the districts of Harand and Dajil to the possessions of the Ahmadzais; and the troops of the latter were permitted to depart together with their Ruler to their own territory. The date of the march of Mir Násir Khan to Mashhad is the year 1184 A.H. Aid was on another occasion afforded to Ahmad Shah in the Marattha war in 1172<sup>152</sup> A.H. (1758-59 A.D.) when the troops of Kalat were

<sup>147</sup> Or Gáhi.

<sup>148</sup> In 1749, Ahmad Shah, starting from Kandahar in the spring, reduces Herát and marches towards Mashhad; attacks Niehapur, but is beaten off with loss. In 1750 takes Niehapur. In 1751 Mir Alam Khan, Chief of Kaim, rebels and seizes Mashhad, blinding and dethroning Shah Rokh Mirza. Ahmad Shah takes Kaim, and Mir Alam is put to death. — (Elphinstone's *Kabul*.)

<sup>149</sup> In 1184 A.H. — 1770-71 A.D., the troops under Násir Khan distinguished themselves also during the siege of Mashhad.

<sup>150</sup> Tubbis in Elphinstone's *Kabul*.

<sup>151</sup> "During the siege of Mashhad, a detachment was sent to take Tubbis, which held out against the Durrani. It was defended by 'Ali Mardán Khan, an Arab Chief of the Zengooes tribe. The detachment was under Sardar Jahan Khan, and was in part composed of Baluchis under Násir Khan. It was completely successful. 'Ali Mardán was killed and Tubbis taken." (*Ibid.*)

<sup>152</sup> The order of the campaigns of Ahmad Shah are inverted in Muhammad Sidik's account. But the reason is that throughout Baluchistan a great deal more consideration is given to the achievements of the Baluch forces, before Tubbis, than in the Indian campaign, since the action of Tubbis is believed to have been won entirely by the valor of Násir Khan and his own forces who had no aid from those under Jahan Khan. This is still the theme of many a story in Baluchistan, though nothing is generally mentioned of the share the Baluchis had in Panipat, except in a song in the possession of the Shahwani tribe.



commanded by Mir Abdul Karim, and the Chiefs of Sarabán and Jahalabán sent their kinsmen to represent them. This detachment performed good service.<sup>153</sup> The men composing the detachment were permitted to return home and a handsome khillat was sent to the Khan by the hands of an express messenger. Again a demand for further assistance was made, and in consequence the Akhund, with the Sardars of Sarabán and Jahalabán and of the Baluch, and the Itázai took the field with Mir Násir, and his mother also accompanied her son. With a very numerous muster they traversed the Punjab and at last joined the Royal forces.<sup>154</sup> The Shah having taken the field advanced towards Delhi. A great battle was thereupon fought, and the Durrani were repulsed in the encounter, and the Shah having summoned the Khan, said to him—"Both Kandahar and Kalat have been left far behind;<sup>155</sup> it is therefore necessary to make every exertion; and you are ordered to reinforce the Durrani, and renew the combat." The Khan having departed according to the orders received from the Shah, entered into action. And when in the evening the Durrani retreated to their camp, the Khan remained in the midst of the fight that was still raging. The horse upon which he was mounted was wounded by bullets, and two others struck the Akhund. At length news having been brought to the Shah, one or two men were despatched by him to recall Mir Násir, but the latter refused to leave his ground; upon this Sardar Jahan Khan himself was ordered to bring the Khan back. After which the Khan retreated with Jahan Khan to the camp. Early next morning the battle<sup>156</sup> was renewed and the Almighty granted the victory to the Champion of the Faith, and the legions of the infidels were routed, after which the Shah with his army advanced against Delhi. \*

## CHAPTER II.

*Gichkis*  
The account of Panjgur and Makran is as follows:—At first the country belonged to the Hots, and after them to the Maliks and then to the Buledi,<sup>157</sup> who in turn were followed by the Gichki, and the latter had originally migrated to Makran from Hindustan. They were Rajputs<sup>158</sup> who settled in the plain of Gichk near Panjgur. They numbered about forty horsemen when they arrived from Hindustan. It fell out that one day while these Gichkis were practising archery, a Fakir who happened to be passing was wounded in the foot by the arrow of one of the Gichkis. After the wound had healed, the Fakir represented the matter to the Malik, Mirza by name, of Kech, who despatched a force against the Gichkis with instructions to exterminate them. The orders were carried out, but two boys survived the slaughter of their kinsmen, and were concealed by the Baluchis who claimed the children from the troops of Malik Mirza, as being the offspring of Baluch parents, and not Gichkis.

In this manner they saved the life of the children, who were despatched to Zehri. In course of time Malik Mirza, the Ruler of Kech, sent for these two youths, and assigned them the district of Gichk<sup>159</sup> as an equivalent for the blood of their kinsmen slain by his orders.

<sup>153</sup> This was the campaign carried on during 1759, in which the army under Datta Patel and Jankoji Sindia was defeated at Badli near Delhi, when Datta was killed, after which Ahmad Shah went into quarters for the monsoon. —(*Elphinstone's Kabul*.)

<sup>154</sup> Ahmad Shah had cantoned for the monsoon at Anupshahr where he was joined by Nawab Shujah-ud-Dowlah, Wazir of Hindustan. —(*Elphinstone's History of Kabul*.)

<sup>155</sup> The King's centre composed of the Rohillas, the Durrani Dasteh of Popalzai, and a division of half the King's guards, was thrown into confusion by the fire of the enemy's guns, charged by their horse, and almost entirely driven off the field, notwithstanding the exertions of the Wazir. . . . "I found the Grand Vizier in an agony of rage and despair, reproaching his men for quitting him. 'Our country is far off, my friends,' said he, 'whither do you fly?' " —(*Elphinstone's Kabul*.)

<sup>156</sup> The two armies lay facing each other for nearly three months on the great plain around Panipat. During this time there were three very severe though partial actions. The decisive battle was commenced a little before daylight on the 7th January 1761 (*Elphinstone's Kabul*). The account given by Muhammad Sidik is somewhat confused.

<sup>157</sup> Buledis trace their descent from one Bu Said who is said to have emigrated into Makran and settled in the Buledi valley, and his descendants are now known as Buledis. The greater part of this tribe migrated into Sindh, where they are settled at the present day, about the fifteenth century or perhaps earlier. A part of the Buledi tribe are settled in Perso-Baluchistan where they still retain their name. The Buledis, when they first emigrated eastwards, and entered the valley of the Indus, settled in the hills occupied by the Bugtis; they afterwards descended into the low country where they are now to be found.

<sup>158</sup> The original seat of the Gichkis was in the vicinity of, or at, Lahore in the Punjab.

<sup>159</sup> An open valley south-east about 35 miles from Panjgur. There are the remains of the fort built by the early Gichkis, and remains of karezas, wells and villages in various parts. The valley is drained by the Gichk stream; in its upper part it is generally quite dry. This stream falls into the Mashkai, and eventually into the sea east of Ormara, where it is known as the Hingol River.

The Gichkis having been joined by the Buledis deposed the Malik, and divided the country between them.<sup>100</sup> Disputes as to the portions each received soon broke out between the Gichkis and their allies, the Buledis; and Mar Singh, son of the brother of Jalab Gichki, was slain by the Buledis.

Shah Kasim was a descendant of 'Bu Said; and Malik Dinar the grandson of Mar Singh, Gichki, and he prevailed against the former and acquired Kech. He ruled justly. Malik Dinar was the son of the brother of Mir Alláhdád.

Bibi Banu was the daughter of Mir Ahmad of Kalat and was first married to Mir Ibrahim, Naushirwanj, who was killed in the service of Mir Ahmad in the war with the Barozáis. Mir Alláhdád, Gichki, was the sister's son of Mir Ibrahim, Naushirwani. After the death of Mir Ibrahim, Mir Alláhdád married his widow, the Bibi Banu; and Mir Isa, the Great, was the result of this union, after whom the countries of Kech and Panjgur became the inheritance of the Gichkis. Malik Dinar despatched his son, Shah 'Umar by name, to Panjgur where he took the fort of Isai from Shaho, the grandson of Jalab, and subjected the Baluchis of Panjgur to his rule. Malik Dinar bestowed Panjgur on his son 'Umar; but the latter was extravagant and tyrannical, without wisdom, and unfit to rule, and Mir Isa, kinsman of Shaho, who was at this time residing in the village of Garmkán and was the grandson of Mir Ahmad of Kalat, when he saw that the village of Isai<sup>101</sup> had been taken, fearing lest Garmkán<sup>102</sup> might be seized next, proceeded to Kalat to the Court of Mir Mohabat Khan, and represented his case. Thereupon Mir Mohabat with a levy of the clans of Sárában and Jahalabán, and Baluchis, having marched towards Panjgur, on his arrival there besieged the fort of Isai for the space of forty days. After this time had elapsed, the wife of Malik Dinar and the mother of Shah 'Umar having arrived from Kej, presented herself before the Khan and made intercession for her son, and the latter in reply to the lady (whose name was Mai Ruz Khatún) said that the fort of Isai was the same to him as her veil.<sup>103</sup> The lady eventually made her son evacuate the fort, surrendered it to Mir Mohabat, who bestowed it on Mir Alláhdád, father of Mir Isa, and on the death of Mir Alláhdád, his son took up his residence in the fort of Isai. Mir Gáji Khan, the younger brother of Mir Isa, murdered the latter and took possession of the fort. The son of the late Mir Isa, Karam Shah by name, fled to Kalat to Mir Násir Khan, who had succeeded his brother Mir Mohabat as Khan; the Khan having assembled his forces invaded and took possession of Panjgur and left Mir Bohir, Musíáni, with 300 men to hold Isai, and returned to Kalat. Gáji Khan, son of Mir Alláhdád, was absent from Panjgur when the Khan arrived there, for he had gone and taken possession of the Bazaar<sup>104</sup> of Tump and the fort of Kalatuk, but upon receiving news of the events that had transpired in Panjgur among his followers, he dismissed all the men of Panjgur among his followers and ordered them to repair to the presence of the Khan and make their submission, as the country had been taken away from him. And these men having left him made their submission to the Khan who, having received the homage of all the people in Panjgur, returned to Kalat. Mir Bohir, after a time, commenced to stretch the hand of injustice over the people of the country, who, being rendered desperate, formed a stratagem to oust Mir Bohir. They enticed the men belonging to him out of the fort, under the pretence of a marriage festival being in progress, leaving Mir Bohir with only a few men within the fort. At length Mir Yakub, Gichki, finding it a favourable opportunity, inveigled Mir Bohir himself out of the fort of Isai, and entering in took possession of it, and having brought Mir Karam Shah to Panjgur from Kej, he placed the latter in the fort at Isai. Upon this Karam Shah, out of fear of the Khan, proceeded to Kalat, but before his arrival, news of the events had reached the Khan, whereupon, to chastise the people of Panjgur, the Akhund, Mulla Muhammad Hayat, was despatched to that place, and the Akhund proceeded by

<sup>100</sup> It is said that the Gichkis took Kej, and the Buledis took Makran, that is the country beyond the eastern watershed of the Sarbas River. There are descendants of the Buledis in this country who still have some influence under the Persian rule.

<sup>101</sup> The principal village in Panjgur.

<sup>102</sup> Garmkán is another of the villages of Panjgur.

<sup>103</sup> i.e., as inviolable.

<sup>104</sup> Bazaar, and sometimes Res, are used to denote settlements of human beings in Western Baluchistan. A date grove alone is called a Kalag, but if containing any habitations the words Shahr or Bazaar, and occasionally Res, are used. These settlements are often only groups of mat huts surrounding or in the vicinity of a "Thal" or defensive post, generally a tower with a small enclosure around it. Tump is a well-known locality, west of Kej, watered by the Nehing River, which contains flowing water all the year round.

way of Raghai,<sup>155</sup> while Mir Karam Shah had adopted the route through the Rakshan<sup>156</sup> valley. For this reason both parties failed to meet *en route*. The Akhund having arrived in Panjgur imprisoned several hundreds of the people of that district. The Khan having in the meantime forgiven Karam Shah, orders were issued to the Akhund to release the prisoners, and the Chiefship over Panjgur was confirmed to Mir Karam Shah. ✱

Mir Násir Khan now marched to take possession of Kej, and having marched through it, demanded Sursat<sup>157</sup> from the inhabitants. The people of Násirabad,<sup>158</sup> through their shortsightedness and want of sense, flatly refused to comply with the demand, and the Khan issued orders for Nasirabad to be attacked. A battle between the Khan's troops and the inhabitants of Nasirabad took place, in which seven hundred Brahuís and others of the Khan's party were slain, among whom was Sardar Mir Purdil Khan, Chief of the Zagar Mingals, and the Khan took the fort of Nasirabad. The son of Malik Dinar, Shah Beg by name, proceeded to the Court of Ahmad Shah, and complained to him of Mir Násir Khan's conduct, and a Royal messenger was sent back with Shah Beg with orders that Mir Násir was to accompany the messenger back to his own country. A second time the Akhund was despatched to safeguard the interests of the Khan in Kej; and on this occasion orders were issued to the Akhund that when he had occasion to return, he should induce Malik Dinar by all means in his power to return with him to Kalat, and bring him into the presence of the Khan. The Akhund having reached Kej, arranged the affairs of the people of that country and induced Malik Dinar to return with him to Kalat. The Khan treated Malik Dinar very well, so much so that the latter, being completely thrown off his guard, on his own initiative released the Akhund from the promise of safe conduct, upon which he had been induced to proceed to Kalat. Whereupon, after the expiry of a short time, Mir Násir Khan slew Malik Dinar. The people of Kej having raised a sedition shortly after, the Khan despatched Hájí Muhammad Khan Sháhwaní<sup>159</sup> to Kej with a force of armed men, and Hájí Muhammad won

<sup>155</sup> The Raghai is one of the valleys that are situated at the head of the Great Kolwa valley and which merge into it. The route from Kalat to Panjgur and the Raghai valley is generally preferred, fodder and water being very plentiful.

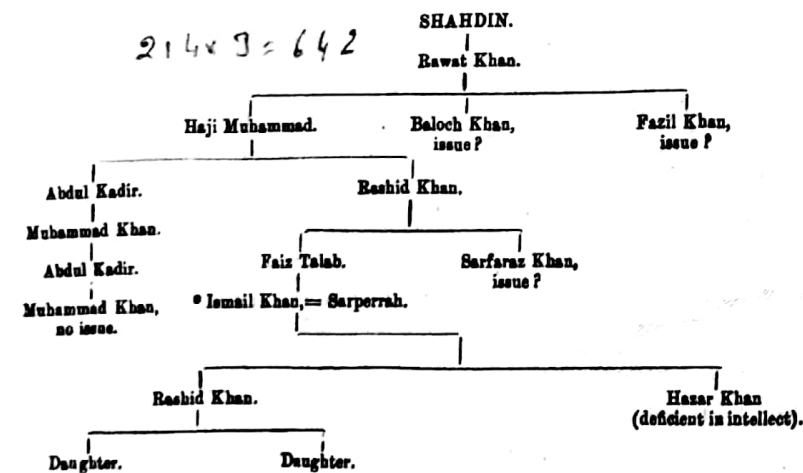
<sup>156</sup> The Rakshan valley is drained by the stream of that name which flows through Panjgur; this place is situated at the lower end of the valley. Naga Kalat is a small fort in the possession of Ali Nausherwani, 80 miles west by north of Panjgur, where there is a good spring of water, which re-appears at Panjgur: between these places there is ordinarily no water in the bed of the stream, owing to which this route is not used except in an emergency when it is of use as being the shortest way to Kalat from Panjgur. Water can be obtained from deep wells to be found at certain places off the road, for which the services of a guide are necessary.

<sup>157</sup> Sursat is a forced contribution raised by the Khan's representative for the support of the troops, when any are sent to the country. Nálproshi is another; the actual meaning of the latter term is "breakage of horse shoes" and both are levied to indemnify the Khan for the expense of marching his troops into that country.

<sup>158</sup> Nasirabad, a very strong fort built of mud about 20 miles west of Kej in the same valley. It is now in the hands of Sher Muhammad Gichki—*Vide* Appendix 8.

<sup>159</sup> Hájí Muhammad Khan, Sháhwaní, Sardar of that clan, of the tribe of Hasil Khanzai. This Chief possessed great power, it is said during his lifetime, and the Sardari of the Sarabáí tribes was hereditary in this family, till it was recently acquired by the Raisania. Hájí-ka-Shahr in the Kachhi belongs to the Sháhwanís and their Sardar is said to possess the right of inflicting minor punishments in it.

*Genealogical tree of Sardars.*



Hájí Muhammad was a contemporary of Mohabat Khan and Násir Khan. The head-quarters of the Sháhwaní tribe is Isakho near Kalat, but they are settled at Shabbaz Kalat, south-west of Panjgur, where however they are not numerous. The Sardari is hereditary in the tribe of Hasil Khanzai.

( \* Deformed. )

over Shah 'Umar, son of Malik Dinar, and took possession of the country of Kej, and having reduced it to obedience returned with Shah 'Umar to the court of the Khan at Kalat; and the latter having treated Shah 'Umar with distinction sent him back to Kej after making over the country of Kej to him. Shah 'Umar took up his residence in the Miri fort in Kej, but by some means his younger brother Shahrullah, having thrust him out of the Miri, took up his residence within it; and Shah 'Umar a second time resorted to Kalat to complain to the Khan. The Khan taking the forces of Sarabán along with him, in the manner of a *Chapao* marched with the utmost celerity and arrived in Kej Makran from Ganjabah on the seventh day. He plundered the country; the forces of the Khan next moved forward on the district of Bâftán<sup>176</sup> which belongs to the Buledis, and slew seventy men of this tribe, upon which they returned to Kej. Shahrullah was removed from the Miri Fort, and Shah 'Umar reinstated in it; whereupon the latter represented that he could not maintain his hold on the country of Kej, without help from the Khan, and the latter arranged that in return for his assistance half the revenue of the country should be made over to the Khans of Kalat, and the "Cairn of the Maliks"<sup>177</sup> on the Minab river, was fixed as the limit of the Khan's jurisdiction.

Shah Omar after a short time was slain by certain men of the Buledis, upon which Shah Muhammad, his son, and Bhai Khan, son of his brother, went to the Khan for redress. The Khan despatched the Akhund, Mulla Fateh Muhammad Khan, to Kej accompanied by Shah Muhammad, son of the late Shah 'Umar, who was installed in the Miri Fort,<sup>178</sup> and having pacified the people the Akhund returned to the Khan. Within a short time of his arrival in Kej, a disturbance having broken out in Kej, the Khan despatched Mir Chanro, Shâhwâni, with a force to that country, but before he could arrive, the Akhund had reduced the people to such a state of obedience to the Khan's orders, that he brought away Shah Kasim, Buledi, and Shah Bai Khan, Gichki, with him to Kalat. The Khan, in revenge for the murder of Shah 'Umar, Gichki, desired to put Shah Kasim, Buledi, to death; but the Akhund represented to the Khan that he had pledged his word to Shah Kasim that he would send him back to Kej in safety, upon which the Khan passed over the faults of the Buledi for the sake of the Akhund and his promise to the latter; and both Shah Kasim and Bai Khan were made over to Mir Chanro, Shâhwâni, who was ordered to conduct them back to Kej, and to take possession of that country. Mir Chanro placed Bai Khan in Turbat,<sup>179</sup> and proclaimed that every one who made his submission would be confirmed in his possessions, whereupon all the inhabitants came and made their obeisance. At this time there were forty men of the Buledi tribe in the Miri of Kej who did not evacuate the fort or make their submission. Mir Chanro reported the circumstance to Kalat, and the Khan despatched Mir Chapar Khan Iltâzai, and Mir Shâhbâz Khan Mamasseni with a force to aid Mir Chanro. The Buledis within the Miri Fort sent word to Mir Chanro and Chapar Iltâzai, that if the former would guarantee their safety, they would now surrender themselves; but he refused as he had himself originally made the same proposal to the Buledis, who had refused to entertain it. Shâhbâz Khan, however, induced the Buledis to surrender, whereupon the whole forty of them were put to death. Kej was after this made over to Mir Bai Khan.

<sup>176</sup> Bâftân is situated on the Sarbas stream about 100 miles west of Kej. It is at present Persian territory. Mir Nâsir Khan is believed to have marched to Bampur and Dizak, at that time portions of Baluchistan, and not in subjection to the Persians.

<sup>177</sup> "Maliki Cheda," Cairn of the Maliks.

<sup>178</sup> The Miri fort is the most prominent object in the Kej valley. It is built on a huge artificial mound caused by the ruins of some earlier town, about 80 feet high. The fort is at present in a ruinous condition and deserted, but it has existed for ages. It is generally considered to have been the abode of the father of Puna (the hero in the celebrated story of Sasi and Punu) who is believed to have been a Hot Chief, and the Wasir of the Malik of Kej of that time. The Dasht River flows at the foot of the mound on which the fort is built; the latter was an elaborate structure, built of mud, with lofty walls, and an outer defence, which enclosed a small town in the north-western angle.

<sup>179</sup> Turbat, so called from containing the tomb of the missionary who converted the people to the Zikri doctrine. Turbat is at the present day "khalas" or belonging to the Khan of Kalat alone, and is a valuable property. It is one of the villages of "Kej" and about 5 miles distant from the Miri Fort.



Las Bela

### CHAPTER III.

The account of Las Bela<sup>174</sup> annexed to Kalat by Mir Mohabat Khan is as follows:—Bela was formerly held by one Ibrahim of the tribe Gungah Jat. The story of his unhappy fate runs thus:—He was the possessor of fifteen hundred horse, by means of which he raided Sewistan,<sup>175</sup> Tatta,<sup>176</sup> and Makran, and brought back much spoil from each district that he plundered. And on one occasion he plundered Nighar, a district in the vicinity of Surab. The cause of his death was due to the following circumstances. Once, according to his usual custom, he attacked and plundered the city of Tatta and was returning on his way back to his own country. The leaders of the people of exalted rank<sup>177</sup> of Tatta having assembled proceeded to the Khankah of Sheikh Ali<sup>178</sup> and implored his intervention, as neither their strength nor cunning would avail them in recovering the property carried away by Ibrahim Gungah, and asked him to proceed in person and recover their effects. The Sheikh himself, seeing no other alternative, lost no time in complying with the prayers of the townsmen, and proceeded in the direction of Ibrahim's camp which was situated at a distance nearly four *kuroh* from Tatta, to plead for the restitution of the property of the townsfolk. When he arrived where the forces lay, he advanced to Ibrahim and seizing the latter's bridle firmly in his hand preferred his request, after greetings had been exchanged, that on this occasion the spoil taken from Tatta might be given over to him, and that he would restore the property to its various owners who had begged of him in God's name to intercede with Ibrahim, and that in return for this act of charity; on behalf of the Almighty, he bestowed upon Ibrahim the district of Bela in perpetuity to be held by him and by his progeny as well generation after generation. But owing to the bad fortune that was appointed by fate for him, Ibrahim replied: "Oh Ali! Cease! When have you heard that Ibrahim has ever surrendered his prey to any one, that you have asked him to-day to do so? I will return nothing." At length the Sheikh despairing of influencing Ibrahim replied: "It is to be hoped that the arrows of supplication of these servants of God will reach the target of fulfilment, and I thus cut off your head and pull up your root from out of the ground of existence."

Upon Ibrahim's return to the town of Bela, he divided the spoil into shares; but his own share he made to exceed the shares of his brethren, the Gungahs, to whom he gave less. The headmen of the tribe took counsel together, and about sixteen in number formed a conspiracy that the Chief of them should proceed to the Harem of Ibrahim, while the remainder waited in the hall of audience. And they resolved that if Ibrahim agreed to their demands, well and good, but if not, the man who was to call him out of the inner apartments should place his hand upon his shoe, which should be the signal upon which the remainder were to rush in, and hew Ibrahim in pieces with their swords. When their leader had entered into conversation with Ibrahim, the latter consented to all the demands made. But inasmuch as the punishment invoked by Sheikh Ali had been decreed to fall upon Ibrahim, it came to pass that upon

<sup>174</sup> The little State of Las Bela is a feudatory of the Khans of Kalat, but no tribute is paid to the latter since the days of the great Nasir Khan of Kalat. Much of the land that composes the State consists of hill ranges and valleys which support a fairly large population, whose flocks and camels provide them with the means of support. The cultivated alluvial soil in this State is situated between the Hala range on the west and the off-shoots of the Pabb Range to the east. It is a triangular-shaped valley resting on the coast between the town of Sonmiani and the Hala ranges as a base, the apex being 7 or 8 miles north of the town of Las Bela itself, where the Purali debouches from the hills. This stream is joined a few hundred yards below the town of Las Bela by the Uroach stream which rises in the hills to the west of the source of the Purali. The waters of the combined streams do not ordinarily reach the sea, as the lower part flows through a very nearly perfectly level plain permitting the construction of bands which arrest the course of the water, and retain it for purposes of irrigation. Barley and jowari are grown, but the chief crop is mustard. The town of Las Bela is built on an artificial mound, the remains of an older town; but about 5 miles west of the present town is the remains of an older town which was probably the capital at an earlier period. There are some excavated dwellings in the face of the cliffs bordering a stream about 16 miles north-west. Las Bela is undoubtedly the locality or town called Arman Belah conquered by Muhammad-bin-Kasam, Makair, on his road to Sindh in 93 A.H. Harun, the Ruler of Makran, died at Arman Belah and was buried there; he had accompanied the forces of Islam.

<sup>175</sup> Another name for Sehwan.

<sup>176</sup> Tatta in lower Sind, once the capital of the Arghuns and afterwards the head-quarters of the Sarkar of the same name under the Emperors of Delhi. Distant about 60 miles north-east of Karachi.

<sup>177</sup> i.e., the Saiads.

<sup>178</sup> The Khankah of Sheikh Ali is situated about 8 miles south of Tatta in the direction of Kalyan Kot. Sheikh Ali is revered now as a Pir, and pilgrimages are made to his shrine.

his issuing from the inner apartments, the shoe upon one of the feet of the chief of the conspirators suddenly caused an irritation to the foot within it; thereupon forgetting the arrangement that had been made, that man stooped down and placed his hand on his foot to scratch it. This being the signal agreed upon, the other fifteen conspirators rushed upon Ibrahim with drawn swords and, notwithstanding the explanations and expostulations of their chief, fifteen swords with one accord descended upon the head of Ibrahim, who met the end that had been meted out for him by the decree of the Almighty. One Othman of the tribe of Gadur,<sup>170</sup> who was the Wakil of Ibrahim, fled barefooted to Páhar Khan, Chief of the tribe of Bulfat<sup>171</sup> who was the maternal uncle of Ibrahim, and informed him of the fate that had befallen his nephew. This man, impelled by considerations of family honour, having assembled the forces of his tribe, moved against the Gungahs who were the murderers of Ibrahim and in the vicinity of Utal,<sup>172</sup> an action took place between the parties in which the Bulfats were victorious, and the tribe of Gungah, as foretold by Sheikh Ali, were exterminated, and after their destruction the country of Bela<sup>173</sup> fell into the hands of Páhar Khan Bulfat.<sup>173</sup> During his life-time he ruled over Bela and when he died, through natural causes, the chieftainship descended as an inheritance to Mir Izzat Khan and to his son. But inasmuch as the latter was a minor, the authority was vested in Bibi Chaquli, his mother, a widow. Jám Ali, the ancestor of this (present) Jam Mir Khan, who was Sardar of his tribe of Jámot, having guessed that the ruler of Kalat, Mir Mohabat Khan, was hostile to Bibi Chaquli, repaired to Kalat, and encouraged the Khan in his design of invading Bela. The Akhund, Mulla Muhammad Hayat, having assembled a force of Brahuís, was despatched against Bela. When the forces had passed the Bárán Lak, and had arrived in the vicinity of Bela, Jam Ali seized Bibi Chaquli at midday, and forcing her to abandon the town on the morrow brought her to the Akhund on his arrival in Bela. On this occasion the half share of the revenue realized from the country was made over to Jam Ali. When Mir Násir Khan succeeded Mir Mohabat in Kalat, he intended giving a daughter of his in marriage to Jam Ghulám Shah,<sup>174</sup> the elder brother of Jam Mir Ali; but through the decree of fate, Jam Ghulám Shah having died within a short time, Jam Mir Khan was married to the girl, and the other half of the revenue of Bela was conferred on her husband, and the Chiefship of the Jámot tribe and of the country of Bela has ever since continued in their family.

I x 1776

x Married to  
Sultan Khali  
daughter of the  
Khan I.

## CHAPTER IV.

Mir Násir Khan after that he took possession of Kej left Mir Zarak, Sardar of Zehri, with seven hundred men in the Miri fort in Kej; and in the fort at Turbat, Mir Dostin, son of Fakir Muhammad, Chief of the Mirwanis. The Khan took away Shah Umar, Gichki, with him to Kalat, and declared that the country of Kej should not again be given over to the Gichkis. Shah Umar, Gichki, having heard the declaration, managed to send a message by some one to Shahdad, his sister's son, that he should foment disturbances in Kej; and Shahdad, son of Dad Karim, being the nephew on the female side of Shah Umar, and the son of the brother of Mir Isa, was able to use his influence with the people of Kej to stir up seditions secretly, and send verbal instructions to the

<sup>170</sup> Gadur, a tribe whose physiognomy indicates a large admixture of Abyssinian or low caste Arab blood; if the latter, it probably came from the south Arabian coast or from Oman.

<sup>171</sup> Bulfat is a division of the Numria clan. The Numrias are settled in the northern part of the Las Bela territory and a large section of them near Kotri in Sindh; ethnologically they are akin to the Bhatti and Sammah.

<sup>172</sup> Utal is a flourishing little town situated between Sonmiani and Las Bela. The surrounding country is well cultivated and fertile.

<sup>173</sup> Las Bela was anciently ruled by the Runjah tribe, amongst whom one Sappar became famous. His descendants were dispossessed by the Gungahs, whose two latter Chiefs were Jam Dinar and Jam Ibrahim. These in turn were compelled to yield to Jám 'Ali of the Jámhút tribe, which must have been after the year 1046 A.H., as a seal of Jám Ibrahim is still shown at Bela, with that date and the legend Benda Badesbah Alam, Jám Ibrahim-bis-Jám Dinar. Parah Khan and Izzat Khan, Bulfat Chiefs, succeeded each other, but the latter was so cruel and oppressive that Jám 'Ali, a descendant of the expelled Rúbana of the Jámhút tribe, applied to Mohabat Khan of Kalat, and by his aid regained Las; whence arose the connection between the two countries. From this Jám 'Ali, the present Chief, is regularly descended. (Masson's Kalat.)

<sup>174</sup> The Chief of the Numrias, settled in the Kotri District in Sindh, is descended from this Páhar Khan.

inhabitants of the various districts of that country, that they should muster their forces, and rendezvous at Kej on a certain night, as the country was about to be taken away for good from the Gichkis, and that on such an occasion the honour<sup>185</sup> of all the people of Makran was equally concerned. At last having arrived at the gates of Turbat town, they burst them open. The garrison in the fort being alarmed, Mir Dostin, together with a small number of retainers of his own tribe, arrived on the scene of disturbance. The assailants slew Mir Dostin and his followers. Early next morning news of the occurrence reached Mir Zarak; whereupon leaving one hundred men to garrison the Miri Fort, he sallied out with six hundred men to suppress the outbreak and marched to Turbat. Both parties having come into collision, an action took place, in which Mir Zarak's men were discomfited, through the enemy outnumbering them, and the Sardar was forced to draw off his forces and retire into the Miri Fort. The people now rose *en masse*, and attacked the fort, where Mir Zarak was hard pressed. Finding himself put to straits for the defence of his post, he himself left for Kalat, where he alighted on arrival at the dwelling of the Akhund. Both Mir Zarak and the former presented themselves before the Khan, and related the account of the occurrences lately taken place in Kej, the loss of Turbat, and the death of Mir Dostin. The Khan having given Mir Zarak reinforcements ordered him to return to Kej. Mir Zarak set out on his return to Kej, but by the time he had reached the Tankh-i-Kolwah,<sup>186</sup> he was met by the remains of the force he had left in Kej to garrison the Miri. On enquiry they related how the enemy had at length stormed the fort, with their Balochi shawls thrown over their shoulders, and having stained their shields yellow,<sup>187</sup> and had proved victorious, forcing the garrison to evacuate the fort, after losing several of their number. Mir Zarak returned from that place to Kalat to the presence of the Khan and related the events that had lately taken place. The Akhund having been summoned advised the Khan that without the aid of the Gichkis, Makran would never be reduced to obedience. Thereupon the Khan summoned Shah Umar, and having presented him with a khilat, despatched him to Kej, and an agreement was entered into by which half of the revenue of Kej was assigned to the Khan of Kalat, the Gichki Sardar retaining the other half. Mir Shah Umar having returned to Kej took the forts in the possession of the Baluchis from them, and within three or four years he acquired control over the country as far as "Maliki Cheda," and the boundary of the country under Mir Násir Khan extended as far as "Maliki Cheda" as is now the case.<sup>188</sup>

Mir Abdul Nabi, Kalhora, having been deprived of his kingdom by the Talpurs who had taken possession of the whole of Sindh, Mir Násir Khan assembled a force of armed men to help the Kalhoras, and placed Mir Zarak<sup>189</sup> in command, with instructions to accompany Mir Abdul Nabi into Sindh and reinstate him on the *gadi* of that country. Mir Zarak, with five hundred men of the tribe of Zehri and men of influence, such as Mir Wali Muhammad, brother of Sardar Taj Muhammad and son of Shádi Khan, Káwari-zai, and Jám Khudadád, elder brother of Mir Nur Muhammad, Musiáni and Mir Bánzo, Jatak, joined Mir Abdul Nabi Kalhora and marched into Sindh, where after completing the usual stages the allies reached Sakrand,<sup>190</sup> where

<sup>185</sup> Nang might best be translated as the "point of honour." For example, among the Baluch tribes it is a point of honour not to surrender a Bé-ot (or Ba-hot) or refugee, one who seeks shelter at the hands of a tribe or member of one, from his enemies; in this case if the person or tribe appealed to is not powerful enough to oppose the latter, the individual seeking shelter is passed on and aided to escape. The story of Hatim Tai in the Bostan, where the favourite charger is killed to furnish a meal, rather than that Hatim's reputation for hospitality should be endangered, furnishes another illustration. The shame attaching to a breach of the unwritten law of honourable conduct is a very favourable trait in the character of the Baluchis, when they are not tainted by association with servile races. Hence petty theft is quite unknown among them owing to its being a breach of the point of honour.

<sup>186</sup> Tankh-i-Kolwah is the gorge where the Maahkai stream debouches into the Kolwah valley. The road from Kalat follows this stream, and also enters the Kolwah valley at this point.

<sup>187</sup> The Bajputa clothe themselves in yellow or orange garments, when they make up their minds to conquer or die in a conflict with their enemies.

<sup>188</sup> i.e., at the time of writing.

<sup>189</sup> Chief of Zehri, who commanded in Kej a short time previously with such bad results.

<sup>190</sup> No adherents apparently joined the Kalhoras on this occasion, and the force at Mir Zarak's disposal was not sufficiently numerous to make head by itself against the Talpurs. Sakrand is the Chief town of the Taluka of the same name, a sub-division of the Naushero Deputy Collectorate. It is situated to the east of the River Indus. There is a pass that follows the course of the Gáj stream which leads from Khudard to the country at the foot of the hills in Sindh, which may have been used by Mir Zarak.

an action took place between the invading forces and those of the Talpur, in which the former being outnumbered were defeated and Mir Zarak with his men of note attained to martyrdom. Shortly after Taimur Shah<sup>191</sup> took the district of Kúrha<sup>192</sup> from the Talpurs and made it over to Mir Násir as compensation for the death of Mir Zarak, and the Khan assigned that district of Kúrha to Mir Yusuf, son of Sardar Mir Zarak, who had succeeded his father in the Sardari, and after Mir Yusuf, the Sardari descended to his son, Mir Kadir Bakhsh, and this family is known as Chakarzai. After Mir Kadir Bakhsh, the Sardari of the tribe passed to Mir Taj Muhammad, Kawarizai, as after the death of Mir Kadir Bakhsh the family of Chakarzai became extinct. After the death of Mir Taj Muhammad, the Sardari of Zehri descended to Sardar Rashid Khan, and after the latter to his son Mir Taj Muhammad.<sup>193</sup>

After the death of Mir Zarak, an order was issued by the Shah Taimur Shah to the Khan of Kalat, to raise the forces at his disposal and join Sardar Madat Khan, Ishakzai,<sup>194</sup> who was under orders to march to the help of Mian Abdul Nabi, Kalhora, with a formidable army into Sindh, to reduce the Talpurs to subjection. Mir Násir Khan assembled his forces and the Chiefs of Sarábán and Jahalabán, both of the Brahui and Baluch tribes. But as he himself was suffering from palsy, he sent the Akhund, Mulla Fateh Muhammad Khan, with his troops to wait on Sardar Madat Khan accompanied by the following Sardars: Sardar Abdul Nabi, Raisáni; Háji Muhammad Khan, Shahwáni; Mir Jangi Sarperrah; Mir Ahmad Khan, Zighar Mingal, and Wadera Bahádúr Khan, Bangalzai;<sup>195</sup> Ahmad Khan; Muhammad Shahi, and Dinár Kurd; Jallal Khan, Dombki, and Jallal Khan, Magassi; Ghulam Ali, Buledi; Sardar Yusuf Khan; Mir Nur Muhammad Khan, Musiani, and Mir Wali Muhammad; Mir Rahmat, and Mir Murad Khan, Shahizai; Mir Shahbaz Khan, Mamasseni; Mir Fakir Muhammad, Bizanjau, and Wadera Kaisár Khán, Magassi and Butani and other leading men, together with 8,000 fighting men, while the Royal forces were represented by six thousand horsemen completely equipped. The allied forces having entered Sindh, encountered the forces of the Talpurs at the locality of Helani,<sup>196</sup> Wa Belani<sup>197</sup> where an action took place. The Talpurs—Mirs Fateh Ali Khan and Mir Ghulam Ali; Mir Karam Khan, Mir Surab Khan, Mir Thara, and Mir Bagh<sup>198</sup> were present with a part of their forces, while the remainder of their troops garrisoned the Fort Omarkot<sup>199</sup> where they had sent away their treasure and families. A severe battle was fought, and the Talpurs being worsted fell back on Omarkot with a loss of 140 men killed. Sardar Madat Khan advanced on Omarkot and besieged it for seven months. Negotiations were opened between the Akhund and the Talpurs, who were themselves a Baluch family, as their honour and that of their wives and families were in jeopardy, if they surrendered to the Afghan. The Akhund thereupon made intercession with the Afghan Commander on behalf

<sup>191</sup> Ahmad Shah Durrani died at Murgha in the beginning of June 1773 A.D. in the fiftieth year of his age. His eldest son, Taimur Shah, born at Mashhad in December 1746, succeeded to the vacant throne. Taimur Shah died at Kabul on the 28th May 1793 A.D.—(Elphinstone's Kabul).

<sup>192</sup> This probably was some district adjoining the Kachhi.

<sup>193</sup> Zehri is an open valley containing several villages and much cultivable land. It is situated south-east of Kalat and is reached by a difficult road, in about three marches; its elevation is much lower than that of Kalat. After that the Sewa Ruler of Kalat was deprived of his life and fort of Kalat, his son, Sangin, fled to Zehri and held out in the hills around it. The present Sardar of Zehri is descended from this Mir Taj Muhammad. The seat of the Chief is at the fort called Gat, which is itself situated in the open, but gets its name from a natural fastness in its immediate neighbourhood among the Lakodo range of hills, that divides the Zehri from the Surab valley. This is the stronghold to which the Zehri Chiefs betake themselves in times of danger; and caves give shelter to the families and effects of their followers and those of their own, while the inaccessibility of the surrounding hills enables a good defence being made. From the fort of Gat in the open a road leads into the Mula Pass.

<sup>194</sup> This was in 1781. The Talpurs retired to their original desert, and the other inhabitants appear to have fled to the hills and jungles to avoid the Durrani army.—(Elphinstone's Kabul.)

<sup>195</sup> The Bangalzai are a tribe of Afghan origin being akin to the Kakars. They have been for a very long time settled at Ispringi, south of the Dasht-i-Bedaolat at the head of the Bolan Pass. The tribe is reckoned among those that form what is known as the Baluch confederacy.

<sup>196</sup> Helani is close to the village of Bhelani on the high road from Hyderabad to Rohri. It is supposed to be an old town and to have existed prior to the Kalhora dynasty. It was near this place that the Talpur, Fateh Ali, about 1781, defeated the Kalhora sovereign, Abdul Nabi, and several tombs presumed to have been raised to the memory of some Chiefs, who fell in this action, mark the spot at the present day.—(Gazetteer of Sindh.)

<sup>197</sup> Bhelani a Government village in the Kandiaro Taluka of the Naushehro Division. Conjointly with Halam which adjoins this village, it is an old town, having been upwards of 200 years in existence, and therefore founded prior to the advent of the Kalhora dynasty.—(Gazetteer of Sindh.)

<sup>198</sup> The name is doubtful.

<sup>199</sup> Omarkot is situated upon the edge of the great desert of Rajputana. It was the head-quarters of the Soda tribe of the Pramara clan of Rajputa, who once are supposed to have held a large portion of Sindh. Omarkot is celebrated for having been the birthplace of Akbar, who was born at that place on the 15th October 1542 A.D.



of the Tálpurs, and induced him to pass over the transgressions of the Tálpurs; the latter in return agreeing to pay one lakh of rupees, which was settled as a tribute upon them, and the Akhund having become surety for the good faith of the Tálpurs inasmuch as the families of the Tálpurs had taken refuge with the Akhund, and Sardar Madad Khan had accepted the guarantee offered by the Akhund, the Tálpur Chiefs were permitted to take up their residence with the latter who placed his "Chadar" over them and their families, being a person of honour, and held in high estimation, according to the custom of the Baluchis. The Tálpurs were at length permitted to return to their own residences, and the Kalhora were restored to the masnad of their forefathers and placed to rule over Sindh once more. Sardar Madad Khan and the Akhund now returned to the Kachhi, and when after completing the usual stages they arrived at Bhag,<sup>200</sup> the former demanded payment from the Akhund, of the lakh of rupees for which he was surety. The latter replied that the money was undoubtedly due; but, as the Sardar well knew, ready money was not to be had among the Baluch tribes, but that instead he could produce arms and horses in quantities and after some further discussion the subject was not pressed any further, and Madad Khan forgave the Akhund the liability he had incurred on behalf of the Tálpur Chiefs. Leaving Bhag, both the Akhund and Sardar Madad Khan proceeded stage by stage until they arrived at Shal and from that place they separated, the Sardar proceeding to the Court of Taimur Shah, and the Akhund to that of Nasir Khan, where on his arrival he was honoured by the presentation to him and the Sardars of splendid khillats.

Previous to this expedition into Sindh, on two or three occasions combined forces of Afghans and Baluch had invaded Sindh, with a uniform want of success, but on this occasion the troops of Shah and those of Mir Nasir Khan returned successful and with credit to themselves.<sup>201</sup> After some time had elapsed a Royal messenger arrived at the Khan's Court bearing a letter which set forth that Sardar Sarfaraz Khan, Barakzai (his real name was Paindah Khan, and Sarfaraz Khan merely his title) was about to be sent against the Tálpurs of Sindh, and that as soon as he arrived in the country of Baluchistan the Khan of this country should accompany the Royal forces with the levies of the Brahui and Baluch tribesmen, and proceed to bring the Tálpurs into subjection. When Sardar Sarfaraz Khan had arrived in the Kachhi, the Khan, who previous to the arrival of the Royal forces had mustered the fighting men of his tribes, in accordance with the Royal firman, joined the Sardar. After accomplishing the usual stages the forces of the Shah and those of Mir Nasir Khan arrived at Larkana. Here an express messenger from the Shah overtook them, and they were informed that the Shah had overlooked the faults of the Tálpurs, who had despatched treasure<sup>202</sup> to the Shah's Court in Kandahar with professions of obedience and promises of future good behaviour, and it having been decreed that the affairs of the Kalhoras should be reduced to confusion, Sardar Sarfaraz Khan and Mir Násir Khan returned from Larkana, the former to return to the presence of the Shah, the latter to his own dominions, while the Tálpurs turned the Kalhoras out of the country of Sindh.<sup>203</sup>

Mir Násir Khan died at Ganjabah within a short time of his return from Sindh in 1208 A.H.<sup>204</sup> and his eldest son Mir Mahmud succeeded him as Khan of Kalat, at the tender age of seven years. Mir Mahmud and Mir Mustafa were by the same mother. Of the three sons that Mir Nasir Khan left at his death, Mir Mustafá and Mir Rahim were the youngest. Upon the death of the Khan, Akhund, Mulla Fateh Muhammad Khan, his Wazir, placed the eldest son, Mir Mahmud, upon the *gadi*, and within a very short time, Mir

<sup>200</sup> Vide Appendix 8.

<sup>201</sup> Vide Appendix 9.

<sup>202</sup> The remaining months of 1798 and part of 1794 were occupied (by Shah Zeman) in reducing Kashmere which had rebelled on Taimur Shah's death (20th May 1793 A.D.), and in settling the Southern Provinces whither the King went in person; on that occasion he compelled the Amirs to pay two million four hundred thousand rupees on account of the tribute due from them; after which he returned to Kabul.—(*Elphinstone's Kabul*.)

<sup>203</sup> Taimur Shah after some unavailing attempts to restore Abd-ul-Nabi Kalhora conferred on him the Government of Leis as an indemnity for Sindh, and formally invested the Tálpurs with the Government of that province. Abd-ul-Nabi repaid the Shah's bounty by rebelling, was defeated, and ended his days at Dera Haji Khan in Upper Sind.—(*Elphinstone's Kabul*.)

<sup>204</sup> Mir Nasir Khan died in the spring of 1794 A.D. (*Elphinstone's Kabul*.) 1208 A.H.=1798-94 A.D.

Bahram Khan, grandson of Mir Mohabat Khan and son of Mir Hájí Khan, seeing that Mir Mahmud Khan was a minor, and having won over the Baluchis of the Kachhi and a few of the Brahuís, besieged Mir Mahmud in the fort of Dádhar. The Wazir Mullah Fateh Muhammad, and Mian Roh Ullah Babi, son of Haji Mulla Rahim, the spiritual guide of Ahmad Shah and of the Ahmadzais as well, were with Mir Mahmud in Dádhar, and of the Iltazáis as well such men as Mir Mihir Khan, Mir Murad Ali, Mir Said Khan, Mir Iltáz, and Sultan Muhammad Murad, son of the brother of the Akhund, upon whom the late Mir Nasir had conferred the title of Sultán, and the Naibship of Shál and Mastung, as well as the office of the Mustaufi; and of the Sardars of Sarabán there was present Mulla Muhammad Raisani with his Brahuís, such as Mir Ibrahim Khan, Mir Kutub Khan, and Mir Kamal Khan, Jamalzais, with Mir Jangi Sarparra.<sup>206</sup> Of the Sardars of Jahalabán there were present Mir Nur Muhammad Zehri, Musiani, and Mullah Abd-ul-Rahman, son of Agha Ali, with Mulla Mihir Ali and Mulla Salih Muhammad, and Darogha Mulla Ghul Muhammad, with Shahghassi Barfi and Mulla Din Muhammad Bakir who, upon the request of the Akhund, possessed the rank of Shahghassi, bestowed upon him by Mir Mahmud. But Mir Kadir Bakhsh, Sardar of Zehri, who was under age, and Mir Taj Muhammad of the Shahizai Mingals with the Mamasseni Bizanjaus, and Sásuli, were not present with Mir Mahmud at Dádhar. And all the Baluch tribes of the Kachhi and the people of Siwi, such as the Khajak, Maraghzani, Dehsál, and Jáfi<sup>207</sup> espoused the cause of Mir Bahram. But Khudayar Khan, Barozai, who was son-in-law to the great Khan,<sup>208</sup> did not declare against Mir Mahmud. Mir Mahmud was hard pressed. Upon this a lady<sup>209</sup> of the family of the Saiads of Sindh<sup>210</sup> approached Mir Bahram, and carrying a Koran with her, she addressed him in admonition, but her words had no effect upon him. Thereupon she returned unsuccessful to Mir Mahmud and said, that as Mir Bahram did not show deference to the Koran, nothing was left but to resort to arms, relying upon Providence to help him, promising him that victory and success would attend his efforts. Next morning early, Mulla Muhammad, Raisáni, with Mir Nur Muhammad, Musiani, made an attack upon the forces of Mir Bahram and, inasmuch as their efforts were seconded by the potency of the word of God and the blessings of saints, by the grace of God their troops defeated those of the enemy. And Mulla Muhammad, Raisáni, was completely successful, while the troops opposed to them were dispersed and departed each his own way. In this engagement the enemy suffered considerably, and Mir Bahram himself was put to flight with his troops.

After this the Akhund, accompanied by the other notables, carried Mir Mahmud to Kalat, and Mehrab Khan, Sháhwáni, was despatched to the Court at Kandahar to obtain aid from Shah Zeman, because after that the Khan had left the Kachhi, Mir Bahram took possession of the whole of that country. But when Mehrab Khan, Sháhwáni, arrived in the presence of the Shah and his Wazir, Shir Muhammad, son of the Wazir, Shah Wali Khan, he found that the advanced tents of the Shah had been despatched previous to his arrival from Kandahar in the direction of Kabul, and as the King had other business on hand and was on the point of marching, he sent no aid with Mehrab Khan, Sháhwáni, to Mir Mahmud, and Mehrab Khan returned to Kalat. The Khan and the Akhund Mulla Fateh Muhammad Khan despatched Mehrab Khan a second time to the Shah, and his Wazir, Shir Muhammad, with

<sup>206</sup> The Sarparra tribe is settled in Gurgina west of Mungachar and only separated from it by range of hills, where Kardagap is the seat of the tribe and the residence of the Sardar Mir Esmat Bakhsh. The Rodani is a sub-tribe of the Sarparra. The meaning of this name is said generally by the people of the country to mean "Decapitator," or cutter off of heads, and is universally, in that country, given as the meaning alluding to the warlike nature of the tribe. It is also interesting to note that a tribe of an almost identical name bearing an identical meaning, was in ancient times dwelling much further to the west. "Some tribes of Thracians, surnamed Sarapars or decapitators, are said to live above Armenia, near the Gouranii and Medes. They are a savage people, intractable mountaineers, and scalp and decapitate strangers, for such is the meaning of the term Sarapars."—(Strabo's Geog.; Bk. XI, C. XII, § 14 Falconer's translation.)

<sup>207</sup> These names are doubtful; the third might be read Haji.

<sup>208</sup> The late Mir Nasir who is always spoken of as "the great" by the people of Baluchistan.

<sup>209</sup> Name illegible.

<sup>210</sup> A branch of the Saiads of Shal have been settled for a great length of time in Dadhar, and the famous Piran Pir of Sindh is said to have been an ancestor of this family.

a humble request for assistance and the Akhund, Mulla Fateh Muhammad, himself wrote a letter setting forth the urgency of the situation of affairs in Baluchistan, and that he himself would have come to Kandahar in person, if he could have left his master with safety, but as this was impossible he was obliged to entrust a matter of such importance to another. Mehrab Khan having arrived at Kandahar presented the petitions to the King and his Wazir, and the latter advised his master to comply with the request contained in the petitions, and having received the Royal sanction, he set out with 2,000 fully equipped horsemen for Baluchistan.<sup>210</sup> After completing the usual stages, the Wazir reached the Dasht<sup>211</sup> where he was met by the Khan and his Wazir, the Akhund. From this place the Wazir, accompanied by Mir Mahmud, the Akhund, and his other Chiefs, moved against Mir Bahram, who had taken up his position at the Dahana-i-Dádar<sup>212</sup> with a view to oppose the advance. Here an engagement took place in which Mir Bahram was defeated with great loss and compelled to seek refuge in Sindh, where he died. His remains were transferred to his native country and interred there.<sup>213</sup>

After some time had elapsed the King, Shah Zemán, slew Barakzai Paiandah Khan, who had been distinguished by the bestowal of the title of Sarfáráz Khan, the father of Wazir Fateh Muhammad Khan, Barakzai, together with four other Chiefs at the instigation of Rahmat Ullah, Sadozai, upon whom the Shah had conferred the title of Wafadar Khan.<sup>214</sup> A bitter hatred had sprung up between Wazir Shir Muhammad and Wafadar Khan, and the former was appointed Naib of Kabul by the King, acting on the advice of Wafadar Khan. At the same time a demand was made on Mir Mahmud Khan of Kalat by the Shah summoning him to Kandahar with a contingent of the tribesmen of Baluchistan for military purposes. The Khan complied with this order and duly presented himself at Kandahar. Mahmud Shah had taken possession of the fortress and country of Herat, and Shah Zemán, taking Mir Mahmud and his men along with him on this service, set out with his army in the direction of Herat. But before he had reached that country, Mahmud abandoned the fort and fled to Tehran, to the Court of Fateh Ali Shah, Gajar,<sup>215</sup> as he had on a former occasion taken shelter with the Ghajar Padishah, and having left (the Court) with his consent had come into the country of Herat.<sup>216</sup>

Wafadár Khan had an ill-feeling towards Wazir Shir Muhammad and as the latter was a friend of the Khan of Kalat, it came to pass that the Shah<sup>217</sup> dismissed Mir Mahmud Khan to his own country unprovided with the means of defraying the expenses of his followers, and ill-supplied with necessities, in consequence of which the Khan reached Kalat with the utmost difficulty. After this Wazir Fateh Khan proceeded to Irán and brought away Mahmud Shah with him from the Court of the Shah of Persia to the place of the Barakzáis, which was the tribe<sup>218</sup> of which Wazir Fateh Khan was Chief, to Girish, where he made preparations for war. The Shah of

<sup>210</sup> Before he left Kandahar, he had despatched Shir Muhammad Khan (son of the Wazir Shah Wali) to settle the Government of Baluchistan. Násir died in the spring of 1794 and was succeeded by his son, Mir Mahmud; his claim to the Government was disputed by Bahram Khan, a nephew of Násir's and who had defeated Mahmud, and made himself master of a large portion of Baluchistan. Shir Muhammad's mission was attended with success; he defeated Bahram Khan, put all his strong places into the hands of Mahmud, and left the Baluch Government to all appearances restored, but that Government had received a shock which it has never since recovered. The tribes in the south-west of Baluchistan (Kej and Mekran) had been but lately conquered by Násir Khan, and were never properly subdued. They seized the occasion offered by these distractions to throw off their allegiance, and Mahmud, whose spirit and capacity are very inferior to his father's, has never been able to recover more than a nominal sovereignty over them.—(Elphinstone's *Kabul*.)

<sup>211</sup> The Dasht-i-Bedaolat at the head of the Bolan Pass.

<sup>212</sup> "Dahana-i-Dhádar" is the lower end of the Bolan, where the road through that Pass debouches on to the plains of the Kachhi, a little below Pir Chauki, from where Dhádar itself is but a short distance away towards the east. Dahana and its Baluch equivalent Daph signify a mouth generally, and is applied to the gorges through which the streams in Baluchistan make their exit upon the open valleys or plains between the ranges of hills.

<sup>213</sup> The Amirs of Sindh refused Bahram Khan an asylum in their territories; he accordingly made for Bahawalpur, but died on the way at the village or Tanda of Kalandar Shah.

<sup>214</sup> Vide Appendix II.

<sup>215</sup> A corrupted form of Kajar, the name of the tribe of the Shahs of Persia. The Persians are throughout Baluchistan, spoken of as the Ghajar from the fact of their sovereign being of the tribe of Kajar.

<sup>216</sup> Prince Mahmud fled to Turshiz from Herat in 1797 and thence to the Persian Court.—(Elphinstone's *Kabul*.)

<sup>217</sup> Shah Zemán entered Herat in 1797 A.D., where he stayed some time arranging affairs.

<sup>218</sup> Ujja.

Persia gave no help in men, but sent about two lakhs of rupees in money instead to Mahmud Shah.

Fateh Khan Barakzai left Mahmud Shah in Girish, and, taking Shahzāda Kamran with him, advanced with his forces upon Kandahar, having made up his mind to attack Wafadar Khan<sup>29</sup> and Shah Zeman himself as Khan and in consequence of this, he went over to Shahzāda Kamran. Both parties came to blows, and the forces of Shah Zeman were defeated, and both the monarch and his Wazir, Wafadar Khan, retired upon Kabul. And the Wazir Fateh Khan having summoned Shah Mahmud from Girishk, installed him upon the throne of Kandahar and having left Prince Kamran at this place, he himself in person with his troops took up the pursuit of Shah Zaman and Wafadar Khan.

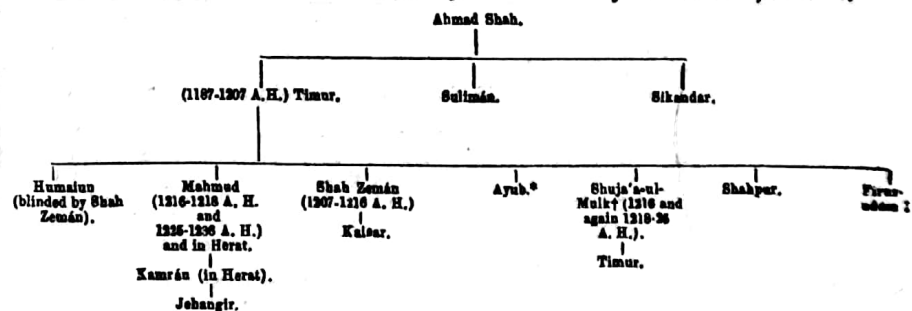
When Shah Zeman and Wafadar arrived at Kabul, the Wazir, Shir Muhammad, would not permit them to enter the city, and they departed and sought refuge with the Saiads of Kunar, and Wazir Fateh Khan himself, who had been following them with his troops, also arrived at that place. And because Sardar Sarfaraz Khan had conferred services on, and shown friendship towards, the Saiads of Kunar, in return for these acts of kindness, they surrendered the persons of Shah Zeman and Wafadar Khan to Wazir Fateh Muhammad, Barakzai, who thereupon had the eyes put out of Shah Zeman, and confining Wafadar Khan, brought them both back with him to Kandahar to the presence of Shah Mahmud where Wafadar Khan was put to death in a shameful way, in revenge for the execution of the late Sarfaraz Khan.

For the space of about three or four years, Shah Mahmud sat upon the throne of Kabul, and after the expiry of this time Shuja'a-ul-Mulk, having conspired together with some Durrani nobles, attacked Shah Mahmud and expelled him from the city, seating himself upon the throne. He ruled for a few years and led several expeditions against Sindh, the Derajat and Multan, on which occasions the Khan Mir Mahmud Khan and Mir Mustafa, with the Akhund and the nobles of Sarabān and Jahalabān and the Baluch, and the forces at their disposal, duly attended the King and performed the requisite service, and each one was honoured by the receipt of khillats according to his rank: and having received their subsidies they returned in due course to their own country. And again, after five or six years, Prince Mahmud Shah, and Shahzāda Kamran, together with certain nobles, having arrived in Kandahar, warred with Shuja'a-ul-Mulk, and expelled him from the city, upon which

<sup>29</sup> The source of all Shah Zeman's errors was his choice of Wafadar Khan for the office of Wazir, and the implicit confidence which he reposed in that minister, who by his insinuating address had completely gained his master's confidence, and used his ascendancy to overturn the power of Sarfaraz Khan and all the great officers of the State and army.—(*Elphinstone's Kabul*.)

<sup>30</sup> The King (Shah Zeman) marched against the rebels with thirty thousand men. The foremost party of the advanced guard was under Ahmad Khan, Nurzai, who shortly before he received this important command, was thought to have been marked out for execution by the minister, Wafadar Khan. In order to decide Ahmad Khan to desert the Shah, Fateh Khan, Barakzai, seized Abdullah Khan, brother of Ahmad Khan, and threw him into close confinement threatening to put him instantly to death if his brother did not come over. When the vanguard of the Royal forces under Ahmad Khan came up with Prince Mahmud's forces at Sariaspeh he joined it with the whole body under his command.—(*Elphinstone's Kabul*.)

*Genealogical tree showing the principal descendants of Ahmad Shah, Durrani.*



\* Reigned a puppet in the hands of the Barakzai Sardars for about 2 years.

† British take up his quarrel in 1839; shot in Kabul in 1842.

‡ According to Ferrier there were 16 other sons born to Timur, who played only minor parts in the history of their country.



Shah Mahmud ascended the throne again. Mir Mahmud Khan upon one or two occasions attended on Shah Mahmud also and accompanied him to Sindh, the Derajat and Multan. A. H.

In the year 1224 A.D., during Zil-Haj, Mir Mustafa Khan slew the son of Mian Roh Ullah, with the consent of his sister, the Mai Zinat, and the connivance of certain leading men of the Brahuis without cause and for no fault. After this the Khan presented his brother with a khillat and entrusted him with the whole authority over the districts of Kachhi, Harand and Dajil. And Mir Mustafa, accompanied by his sister, the lady Zinat, accordingly set out for the Kachhi. The Mir Sahib established his rule in the Kachhi on a firm basis as he carried gifts in one hand, while the other grasped the hilt of his sword, and his speech was sweet with words of encouragement for the cultivators, and kindness for the men of note in that country, and the country was rendered so tranquil that the wolf and the sheep might with safety be confined within the same pen, while for highway robbers the light of day was rendered as dark as night, and the Bolan Pass resembled the Bazaar of Kalat in safety.<sup>221</sup> He made expeditions into Kákaristán, and gave all that country over to be plundered by his troops, and having taken the Fort of Harnai, he rased it with the ground, and took the highway robbers of that place as hostages. The renown of his justice and management of the country entrusted to him, in a short time spread everywhere, and having driven oppression out of the land, he was preparing to undertake the capture of Korha and Karachi.<sup>222</sup> The Talpur Mirs of Sindh were about to despatch Agents to Mir Mustafa to induce him to refrain fearing that he might be led to wrest Sindh from their hands as well.<sup>223</sup> At length, suddenly one day, Mir Mustafa left the town of Ganjabáh with the desire to go a-hunting, and proceeded for this purpose towards a district called Molui (or Moladi) within the limits of Ganjabáh. Meanwhile his younger brother, Mir Muhammad Rahim Khan,<sup>224</sup> who had not yet completed his education, having left the town of Naushehro, proceeded to the Shikargah with the intention of attacking his brother. Mir Mustafa despatched Mulla Mihir Ali to see who the horsemen were that were coming towards him; but the latter slew Mulla Mihir Ali as soon as he reached them. Mir Rahim, accompanied by 30 horsemen, now advanced towards his brother who had only six companions with him. Mir Rahim Khan with his own hands fired his gun at Mir Mustafa wounding him mortally, and the latter, a Joseph in beauty, a Naushehro in excellence, and a Rustam in valour, attacked his brother in such a manner that no one would have believed him to be wounded. He aimed one blow with his sabre at his brother, but inasmuch as he was in a bad state from the effects of his wound, he failed to injure Mir Rahim severely. Mir Mustafa thereupon threw aside his sword, and grappling with his brother, flung him on the ground, and drawing his hunting knife, endeavoured to stab his brother as he lay there. But as his strength was failing fast, his brother was able to seize his hand and foil his attempts, and Mir Mustafa thereupon tasted the sweet draught of martyrdom and passed away from this transitory world to another that changeth not.

Mir Rahim Khan escaped into Sindh and raising a miscellaneous force set out for Dajil. An Afghan named Sadr was the Nawab of that district. Mir Rahim Khan seized him and took possession of the town. His hopes

<sup>221</sup> Mir Mustafa kept in his pay a body of 800 Afghan horse, well equipped, thus making himself independent of the tribal Chiefs. Haji Khan Kakar, who was afterwards so notorious in Afghan affairs, began his career in the service of Mir Mustafa, as a common soldier.—(Masson's Kalat.)

<sup>222</sup> Not only a reconquest of the country, but it is said he demanded restitution of these districts with the revenues the Amirs had drawn since their acquisition.—(Ibid.)

<sup>223</sup> It is said that Mustafa Khan had concluded a treaty with Sadat Khan, the ruler of Bahawalpur, the object of which was the partition of Sindh; and it is said that the treaty had received the sanction of Wazir Fateh Khan, then at the head of affairs in Afghanistan. Sadat Khan was to have taken the country east of, and Mustafa that to the west of, the Indus. Mustafa Khan was a great favourite of the Wazir, Fateh Muhammad, Barakzai.—(Ibid.)

<sup>224</sup> Rahim Khan and Mustafa Khan were half-brothers. The cause of the bad feeling that at length terminated in the death of the latter was due to the fact that Mustafa neglected to visit Rahim Khan, during the period of mourning (Matam) on the occasion of the death of his mother. Mustafa Khan had been invited on two or three occasions by his brother, who, when he found that his invitation was neglected and seeing Mustafa pass his abode on his way to the Shikargah, determined to avenge the slight and followed up the latter with the result given in the narrative. But it was also pretended that he had been urged to commit this deed by the Amirs of Sindh who were apprehensive of the designs of Mir Mustafa upon their possessions. Rahim Khan fled to Sindh immediately after the murder of his brother, where he received a sum of money from the Rulers of that country, but it was doubtful whether he did not raise this money by the private sale of arms and jewels.—(Masson's Kalat.)

being now raised by a correspondence he had entered into with certain individuals, he left Dajil and set out for the Kuhistán where he arrived at a certain locality known as Panj Muhh. Knowledge of this circumstance having reached Bibi Zinat and Mir Sarfaráz Khan, who was a child at the time, and Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, they set out with 900 men to attack Mir Rahim, who at the time had only 30 men with him. A fight took place, in the course of which he with his 30 comrades and one Hindu displayed great valour. At length, however, after he had slain three of his assailants and wounded three others with his own hand, he was overcome and slain.

After this time, the Khan, Mir Mahmud, was ill; but notwithstanding he left Kalat and set out for the Kachhi, where upon arrival he set to work to arrange the affairs of the district, after which he returned to Kalat again.

The Bibi Zinat now set out for the Court of the Shah at Kandahar accompanied by Sarfaráz Khan, son of the late Mir Mustafa, and by Ahmad Yar Khan, taking money to the extent of two lakhs of rupees with her. And the Shah issued orders to the Khan that he should raise the troops of Sarábán and Jahalabán, and the Baluch tribes, and proceed to the Kachhi and hold himself in readiness until the Shah arrived on an expedition into Sindh. The Khan having heard that the Bibi Zinat with the sons of the late Mir Mustafa had set out for Kandahar, despatched his son, Mir Mehrab, although the latter was a mere child, to the Court of the Shah, in charge of the Akhund, to look after his own interests and settle his affairs. Mulla Abd-ul-Rahman was himself with them. Mir Mehrab's mission was successful, and notwithstanding her efforts and bribery of the courtiers of the Shah, the Bibi Zinat's representations were ineffectual and the affairs of the Khan were restored on a firm basis, after which the Akhund, in attendance on the Shah, accompanied him to the Kachhi, where they found the Khan of Kalat and his forces already assembled. The latter, together with his son Mehrab Khan, the Akhund, and the assembled Chiefs of Sarábán and Jahalabán, and of the Baluch tribes, accompanied the Shah on this expedition into the Derajat and Multan, and when the operations were brought to a close, the Khan and his Chiefs were dismissed with honour, and being presented with khillats were permitted to retire to their own country. On another occasion, the Khan having accompanied the Shah to Multan, during the lifetime of Mir Mustafa, Ali Sher, Kalpur, in his absence carried off great spoil from Fuleji (Pulaji<sup>255</sup>), and slew Tahir and Dad Muhammad, Mingals, and two or three others who had followed on his traces to recover the spoil. When news of this occurrence reached the Khan who had been at this time, together with his brother Mir Mustafa, in attendance on Shuja'a-ul-Mulk in Sindh, and having received permission from the Shah to depart, they had reached Shikarpur on their return journey. The Khan despatched Mir Mustafa with a force, and accompanied by the Akhund, to act against the Bugti tribe of Baluchis and the Kalpurs and avenge the death of those Mingals. Mir Mustafa left Shikarpur and in due course arrived at the country of the Bugtis, and the highway robbers betook themselves to the hill of Tarki, which was a stronghold of theirs where they established themselves. Mir Mustafa issued orders that Sankak (or Sangak) Bugti's lands should be harried, and both horse and foot having marched, attacked the Toman of Sankak and plundered it, bringing away much spoil, after having slain many men of Sankak's tribe. After a time Mir Ali Sher, Kalpur, being hard pressed, and having succeeded in obtaining the good offices of Sardar Mulla Muhammad, Raisáni, Mir Mustafa was induced to forego his intention of killing Ali Sher, carrying him as a hostage, instead, to the presence of the Khan at Ganjabáh, where the Khan, owing to the intercession of Sardar Mulla Muhammad, Raisáni, pardoned the transgressions of Ali Sher and gave him a khillat and allowed him to depart to his own country. And after this the Baluch tribes inhabiting the Koh-i-Suleiman<sup>256</sup> refrained from violating the territory of the Khan of Kalat, and contented themselves as best they could with the produce of their own territories.

\* During the reign of Shah Zeman, certain merchants laid a complaint before him that the Mingal and Bizanjan tribes used to subject the traders to

<sup>255</sup> The Mingal Chiefs hold lands in the vicinity of Pulaji and Chatter south of Lehri.

<sup>256</sup> The name of Suleiman is given to the group of hills that extend from the Takht towards Sibi.

exorbitant transit duties, which the traders could not bear.<sup>227</sup> Upon hearing this the King despatched Naurang Khan and Gul Muhammad Khan to Mir Mahmud's Court. The latter in consequence proceeded to Khudard accompanied by Mir Mustafa and the Akhund, and the Iltázais, together with certain other Chiefs and the Shah's representatives, and summoned the Mingal and Bizanjau tribesmen to appear before him, forbidding them to levy such exorbitant duties. The Mingals were obedient to his orders, but the Bizanjaus held out and took up a strong position in their hills. Thereupon the Akhund, taking Mir Mustafa with him and accompanied by a force, attacked the enemy's stronghold among their hills, in the course of which Sardar Mulla Muhammad, Raisáni, having assaulted their position, slew Sardar Fakir Muhammad Bizanjau together with fifty other men of his tribe, and brought in the son of the late Bizanjau Sardar, Kehira by name, with him, and presented Kehira to the Khan, Mir Mahmud. But as an evil fate had been decreed for the Bizanjaus, they attracted the glance of injury towards themselves. ×

For several years he had been a sufferer from some malady, and the last two or three years of his life were spent in Ganjabáh while Mir Mehráb resided in Kalat, and the son of the Akhund, Mir Mubarak by name, was in attendance at that place on the young Khan. But as the Khan's malady increased he desired the Akhund to bring Mir Mehráb to Ganjabáh in view of possibilities, and the Akhund having duly carried out his master's orders, brought the young Khan to Ganjabáh.

At this time Mir Muhammad Khan, the Sháhwáni Sardar, raised the fighting men of his own tribe, and attacked the Barozais in the district around Siwi.<sup>228</sup> But in a conflict with the men of the Kajak tribe, the forces of the Sháhwánis were repulsed, and the Akhund and Mir Mehrab had no sooner arrived in Ganjabáh than they received orders from the Khan to proceed to Bhág and raise the fighting men of the Sarábán tribes, and march on Siwi to revenge the defeat of the Sháhwánis upon the Kajaks. Mir Mehrab with the Akhund and his son, Mir Mubarak, proceeded to Bhág and raised a force, and Sardar Samandar Khan,<sup>229</sup> Báimizai, himself was with Mir Mehrab. The Khan, however, was very seriously ill, and he ordered Mulla Muhammad Sidik to despatch a trusty messenger towards Mir Mehrab Khan and the Akhund to recall them from Bhág, and instantly a trustworthy man was despatched on this errand, who brought them back by the sixth hour to Ganjabáh. Mansur Khan, Durrani,<sup>230</sup> was on his way from Sikarpur<sup>231</sup> to the Court at Kandahar,

\* <sup>227</sup> A considerable amount of trade was carried on between Kandahar and Karachi, and afterwards with Sonmiáni. The Babi Afghans settled in Kalat were engaged in it, as well as the Peshin Saids and Kásis of Shál. Horses used to be exported from Khurassan to Bombay, being shipped at Sonmiáni. There were two routes diverging between Bághwáná and Wad, one by the Baran Lak is that alluded to in the text, another followed the course of the Hab River from its source and proceeded *vid* the village of Mahri on that river to Kharak and afterwards to Karachi, and is still known as the "Patani Vat" or Pathan's road. The Mingal and Bizanjaus inhabit the districts contiguous to the first-named route, which was the only one available as the Amirs of Sindh had laid heavy duties on the trade through Karachi, and as it was a shorter and easier road as well. According to Masson, Mahmud Khan permitted the clans afterwards to levy small transit fees aggregating no more than 4 rupees; but in Mehrab Khan's reign, a load of merchandise was not cleared under 23 or 24 rupees, and the tribesmen (while Masson was in the country) are said to have realised in one year about 90,000 rupees from *kafilas* of merchandise. Between Panjgur and Bela a camel-load of produce paid transit dues at 8 places, and at three or four more by the time it reaches Karachi. Sung or transit dues are levied without any reference to the value of goods and depends on the disposition of the Chief of the country the *kafilas* pass through, and on his power of enforcing payment. It resembles the "ullai" or blackmail levied on passengers through the Bhil Pale of Rajputana. Horses shipped at Sonmiáni were assessed at Rs. 4-8 and a duty of Rs. 5 was levied on each slave imported from Maskat. A duty of 4 per cent. was paid at Sonmiáni on all other imports and exports, but the former having paid at Sonmiáni were passed free of charge through the territories of the Jám of Las Bela. In 1808 A.D. the Joami Arabs (pirates) plundered Sonmiáni; the trade, however, revived. The customs at Sonmiáni were rented by a Hindu for Rs. 24,000 per annum. From the 1st September 1840 to 31st May 1841, the value of the trade carried on was Rs. 9,94,773. This was, however, after the capture of Kalat by the British.—(*Selections from Records of the Bombay Government, No. XVII, New Series.*) Sonmiáni harbour has become shallow and no trade to speak of is carried on now. ✕

<sup>228</sup> The Barozais inhabit the town of Kurk in the Sibi district.

<sup>229</sup> Sardar Samandar Khan was the leading spirit, and commander of Shah Shuja's-ul-Mulk's forces in the attempt he made in 1832 to regain Kandahar. Samandar died at Siwi not long after.

<sup>230</sup> Mansur Khan, Barakzi, Hakim of Shikarpur, for eight years from 1225-1232 A.H., i.e., 1810-1817 A.D. under Mahmud Shah (the second period), the Durrani monarch.

<sup>231</sup> Shikarpur is said to have been built in 1026 A.H., when it became a possession of the Daudpatras. Its history is practically that of Sindh; after that the dominion over this country was transferred from the hands of the Tarkhans to those of the Delhi Emperors. The site was then a noted forest (see the note on the Barozai of Dádhar) and lay about 6 miles south-west from Khanpur and about 9 miles north-west of Lakki. Upon the rise of the Kalhora family, they took Shikarpur from the Daudpatras. The treaty drawn up between Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah, Emperor of Delhi, made over the countries west of the Indus to the former and both Shikarpur and Siwi were included. Nadir marched into Sindh and having received the submission of the Kalhoras left for Kandahar, marching from Larkhans on 18th Muharram 1153 A.H., taking with him Muhammad Murad and Ghulam Shah, the Kalhora Chief's two sons, and the Daudpatra Chief again took possession of Shikarpur, but was deprived of it by a Persian force under Sardar Tamsép and were effectually driven across the river. The city of Shikarpur changed hands again in the

and he was also brought by the Akhund to Ganjabáh, and at daybreak on a Wednesday in the year 1282 A.H., Mir Mahmud removed the property of his life from this world of change towards that which is unchangeable. Thereupon the Akhund and Mansur Khan, Barakzai, who were servants of the sovereign, with Sardar Kadirbakhsh, who was Sardar over the Jahalabán, and of Zehri, Sardar Mir Wali Muhammad and Malik Dinar, Mingals, and Naib Mulla Abd-ur-Rahman bound the insignia of the Khanship upon the brows of Mir Meh-bakhsh, Zehri, were deputed to convey the remains of the late Mir Mahmud to Kalat for interment.

Mir Mehrab ascended the throne in the beginning of the year, and after six months had elapsed, Ja'afar Khan and Ahmad Khan of the tribe of Magassi conspired with Ahmad Yár Khan, and mounting the latter on a horse took him away to Jhal. At this time there were none of the Brahui Sardars on the side of Mir Mehrab, except Sardar Mir Kadirbakhsh, Zehri, Sardar Mir Wali Muhammad, Mingal, Malik Dinar, Shahizai, and not a single other Chief. Thereupon Mir Mehrab despatched Mir Isa Khan after Mir Kadir Bakhsh to Gajan, but the latter gave Mir Isa a flat refusal, and did not come in to the Khan. The latter summoned the Akhund and informed him of the circumstances of the case, and desired him either to proceed himself in person, or to send his son Mir Mubarak, to Mir Kadirbakhsh, so that he might go and bring that Sardar back with him. The Akhund deputed his son, Mir Mubarak, who returned accompanied by the Sardar to the Khan. After this, notwithstanding the efforts of the Akhund who personally urged upon the Sardar the necessity of discharging his obligations of service to the Khan with spirit and sincerity, Mir Kadirbakhsh persisted in his refusal to do so, until wearied by the unceasing entreaty of the Akhund he was at last won over. The latter after this summoned Wadera Sardar Khan, Bind, from Surán and having won him over, Wadera Bahrám, Buledi, and Kalati Dinári<sup>222</sup> were themselves strengthened in their loyalty, and Sardar Khan, Bind, with permission of the Khan returned in Surán and raised the levies of Bindusthan, and summoning Ali Sher, Kalphar, from the hills of the Sulaimán Range, brought this Chief also along with him to the Khan. At the same time the fighting men of the Buledis and Dináris joined the Khan, who with the assembled forces moved out of Ganjabáh and reached the district of Najak. Ja'afir Khan, the Magassi<sup>223</sup> in the field, sent to the latter begging that their transgression and the fault of Ahmad Yár Khan as well might be overlooked, and that the Akhund might be sent with a complete assurance of forgiveness to quiet their apprehensions and bring them in to make a formal submission to the Khan. Thereupon the Akhund was despatched to Mir Ahmad Yár Khan's adherents, and according to the instructions of the Khan he calmed their apprehensions and brought them in to Ganjabáh.

Abdul Kádir, son of Mulla Abd-ur-Rahman, owing to the hatred he bore the Akhund, at this time having by means of his guile and deceit ensnared Sardar Kadirbakhsh, Zehri, himself, the son-in-law of the Akhund, but who was excessively proud and ignorant, won him over to attempt the life of the Akhund, by means of a deceitful promise that he, Abdul Kádir, had acquired a complete ascendancy over the Khan which would insure the fulfilment of any object whatsoever that he and the Zehri Chief might desire. And inasmuch as Mir Kadir Bakhsh through his inordinate pride and want of knowledge could not discriminate between friends and enemies, he agreed to make the

lifetime of Ahmad Shah, Abdalli, who claimed the tribute that the Kalhoras paid Nadir Shah. Under his successors the hold upon the territories situated in Sindh was gradually weakened, and the Talpur Amirs were gradually encroaching upon the territory of the Durrani monarchs in Sindh. Upon the downfall of the Sadoni dynasty the Barakzai Sardars partitioned the Empire among themselves, with the exception of Herat. Upon the death of Sardar Muhammad Azim Khan a struggle for his property took place among the survivors, and Rahamdi Khan, who had taken up his abode in Shikarpur, was summoned to Kandahar to which place he proceeded from Sindh leaving his brother-in-law Abdul Mansur Khan as his *locum tenens*. Four months after the departure of Rahamdi Khan there were rumours of an invasion by the Sikhs, and owing to this, the Talpurs managed to take possession of the city on the 28th Zil Háj, 1289 (24th August 1824), when it was taken over by Sardar Wali Muhammad, Laghari, on behalf of the Amirs. Abdul Mansur Khan held office only for 5 months. Occupied by the British in 1843.

<sup>222</sup> Thus in manuscript: no tribe known by this name.

<sup>223</sup> The Magassis, a tribe of the Kachhi, is said to take its name from Magas, a district near and east of Bimpor, the seat of the Barip who governs Perso-Baluchistan. Magas is a fertile, well watered tract. The Magas is considered one of the Jahalawán tribes.



attempt on the life of the Akhund. Providentially, however, at this juncture the Akhund fell ill, and consequently he was night and day surrounded by people, members of his own household, as well as others not belonging to him, and at this time Sardar Kadirbakhsh could not obtain a favourable opportunity to slay the Akhund, until at length becoming impatient, one evening at the time of breaking the fast on the 16th of Ramdhán 1232 A.H., he slew Mir Mubarak, the eldest son of the Akhund, and took refuge with Bibi Lálbai, widow of the late Khan Mir Muhammad, who was also a kinsman of his. His intellect having become perverted (*by his pride*) he did not retire to his own town of Gaján, which was close to Ganjabáh, but took up his abode with the lady alluded to. As soon as he heard of the assassination of Mir Mubarak, the Khan, owing to the affection he had for the Akhund, proceeded to the dwelling of the latter to condole with him, and remained with him by the body of his son till next morning when he accompanied the corpse to the place of burial in the vicinity of the garden of Ganjabáh. On his return to the town, the Khan proceeded to his own residence, and imposed on himself the duty of avenging the blood of the late Mir Mubarak, and without consulting the Akhund, issued orders for Sardar Kadirbakhsh to be killed and Mir Kadirbakhsh was accordingly slain by his orders.

After this Mansur Khan, Barakzai, who was Governor of Shikarpur, on behalf of Shah Mahmud and his Wazir, Fateh Khan, upon hearing of the martyrdom of Mir Mubarak Khan, son of the Akhund, set out for Ganjabáh, and on arrival he took the Akhund, with the consent of the Khan, with him to the presence of the representative of the Ahmad Sháhi dynasty. At this time Prince Kámran was in Kandahar, but the King himself was at Kabul, and Wazir Fateh Khan in Herat. Mansur Khan and the Akhund sent on their petitions to the Wazir, Fateh Khan, to Herat informing him of the murder of Mubarak Khan and the killing of Kadirbakhsh in retaliation, which were the results of the machinations of Mir Abdul Kadir, son of Naib Mulla Abd-ur-Rahman. The Wazir, Fateh Khan, wrote to his brother Sardar Purdil Khan at Kandahar, that he should proceed to Baluchistan with the Akhund and slay both Abd-ur-Rahman and his son Abdul Kadir and then return to Kandahar. Mulla Abd-ur-Rahman was himself cognisant of the circumstance of the conspiracy of his son. Purdil Khan set out from Kandahar in company with the Akhund and duly reached Ganjabáh where he demanded the persons of Abd-ur-Rahman and his son, Abdul Kadir, from the Khan, informing the latter that orders had been issued to him by the Wazir, Fateh Muhammad, that as soon as he had arrived at Ganjabáh he was to execute both father and son concerned in the murder of Mir Mubarak.

The Khan summoned the Akhund, and while sympathising with his grief at the loss of his son, who was such a promising youth, besought him to pass over the fault of Abd-ur-Rahman and his son, Abdul Kadir, and to restrain Sardar Purdil Khan from executing them. The Akhund, mindful of the fact of his having eaten the salt of the Khan, agreed to forgive the transgressions of both father and son, and informed the Barakzai Sardar that he had done so, whereupon Abdul Kadir in the manner of one at the point of death made his petition in the presence of the Khan of Kalat.<sup>234</sup>

A yearly tribute of seven thousand rupees was settled upon to be paid to Sardar Purdil Khan,<sup>235</sup> and the Khan of Kalat having satisfied the Barakzai Sardar, the latter proceeded on his return to Kandahar.

Mir Taj Muhammad of Zehri, together with two of his clansmen, openly made an attempt to slay Abdul Kadir, but was restrained by the Akhund himself from carrying out his intention.

After a short time had elapsed the Khan deputed Abdul Kadir to proceed to Sárgan<sup>236</sup> to bring in Ahmad Yár Khan, and Abdul Kadir having reached that place took an oath on the Koran with Mir Ahmad Yár Khan, and brought the latter to the presence of the Khan. After a short time had elapsed, acting on the advice of Abdur Rahman, the Khan had both Mir Sarfaráz and Mir

<sup>234</sup> There seems to be a gap in the narrative, as though it had been taken down incorrectly from dictation.

<sup>235</sup> The Barakzai Sardar of Kandahar.

<sup>236</sup> This was after his fourth rebellion against the authority of Mehrab Khan. Ahmad Yár Khan had raised adherents among the Sárgan and Kadjak tribes, and the revolt caused Mehrab Khan an effort to subdue it.

Ahmad Yár executed<sup>227</sup> and Abdul Kadir himself struck the fatal blow in the case of Mir Ahmad Yár, thereby incurring the ignominy of breaking his oath sworn on the Koran, in return for which it came to pass that during the same year the Khan caused both Abdul Kadir and his father Abdur Rahman also to be executed. The year that these were executed in Kalat, the Khan proceeded to the Kachhi and Shah Shuja'a-ul-Mulk arrived from Ludhiána to Shikarpur where he took up his residence. The Mirs of Sindh wrote to Shah Ayyub and to Sardar Muhammad Azam Khan, that Shah Shuja'a-ul-Mulk being a Sadozai, they found it a difficult matter to thrust him out of their country, but that if Shah Ayyub and Sardar Muhammad Azam would undertake the business, they (the Amirs of Sindh) would furnish the money necessary for doing so.

Sardar Muhammad Azam Khan<sup>228</sup> and Shah Ayyub Shah, seeing an opportunity for benefiting themselves, gladly agreed to expel Shah Shuja'a-ul-Mulk from Sindh, and sent an express messenger to Mir Mehrab Khan of Kalat informing him that Ayyub Shah was about to march against Shuja'a-ul-Mulk and that he (the Khan of Kalat) should assemble his forces and proceed to the Kachhi and there await the arrival of Shah Shuja'a. Mir Mehrab thereupon ~~raised the fighting men of his clans and marched to Ganjabáh, there to await the arrival of the Shah.~~ Shah Ayyub arrived at the close of the winter, and was met at Dádhar by the Akhund, who had been deputed for the purpose by the Khan who had halted at Bhág, where he received the Shah on his arrival and marched with him upon Shikarpur. Shah Shuja'a was compelled to evacuate that place, which was occupied by Shah Ayyub, who, after presenting the Khan and the Akhund and the Chiefs of Sarábán and Jahalabán with khillats, permitted them to retire to their own country.

Shah Ayyub was attended by Sardars Muhammad Azám Khan, Mir Dost Muhammad Khan, and Sher Dil Khan, as well as several other men of note among the Durránis, together with a force consisting of 30,000 completely equipped horse. Whatsoever was done, was by the agency of Sardar Muhammad Azam Khan, in the name of Shah Ayyub. Mir Mehrab upon being dismissed from Shikarpur retired to Ganjabáh and after a month had elapsed Ayyub Shah himself retired to Kandahar by way of the Kachhi, and the Khan deputed the Akhund to proceed with the Royal forces up to the boundary of Dádhar, and the Khan himself marched from the Kachhi to Kalat. He spent the six months of the next winter in the Kachhi, and at the expiry of this period of time he returned to Khuesdár where he took his residence, intending to remain there during the summer. He despatched Dároga Ghul Muhammad to Mastung to raise the forces of the Sarábán tribes for an expedition into Kech and Makran. But when the Dároga arrived at Mastung, Sardar Mihr Ullah Khan, Raisani, Sardar Muhammad Khan, Sháwáni, and all the men of note in Sarábán, with one accord refused to obey the Khan's orders. The Khan having heard of this matter proceeded to Kalat, and sent the Akhund, Mulla Fateh Muhammad Khan, towards Mastung to collect the forces of Sarábán; and the Akhund, with the utmost efforts, and after giving the Chiefs every assurance, conducted them to Kalat.

At this period Dáud Muhammad, an Afghan, was Wazir to, and acted on behalf of, the Khan, who disregarded the distrust which the Brahuís evinced towards his favourite and minister. Owing to this the leaders among the Brahuí, when they arrived at Kalat, became discouraged and did not remain on good terms with their ruler. Driven to despair they were compelled to acquiesce in the injury and disgrace of being treated with disrespect, till at length they departed from the Khan and went away into the Kachhi where each one followed his own inclination and became disaffected towards the Government. Sardar Khan, Rind, Behram, the Buledi, and Kalati Dinári conspired together, with the exception of Ahmad Khan, Magassi, and Ghulam Nabi, Maghare,<sup>229</sup> who did not join the conspiracy among the Sardars of Sarábán. After this, the Khan deputed Sháhghási Mulla Nur Muhammad to collect the

<sup>227</sup> Stated by Masson to have been due to the representations of Dád Muhammad who had great influence over Mir Mehrab Khan.

<sup>228</sup> The head of the Barakzai Sardars died in 1836.

<sup>229</sup> Or Mazi; the name is illegible, it may perhaps be "Masári."

fighting men of Jahalabán. After a short time the Khan himself transferred his residence from Kalat to Khusdár where he remained for some days, after which by way of Kushta, he descended the Mulah Pass. Ahmad Khan, Magassi, and Ghulam Nabi arrived and paid their respects to the Khan. In order to give the men of Sarábán a warning, the Khan next gave orders to plunder and burn the town of Kotra, but when the Khan himself arrived at Kotra, the Sardars of Sarábán and the Rinds finding that they could not oppose him, induced the Lady Nur Khatun of the family of Saiads to proceed to the Khan bearing the Koran with her, to make intercession on their behalf. And the Khan being a God-fearing man and possessed of foresight, seeing that the result would prove unfavourable to the Brahuís, complied with the intercession made on the Koran by the Lady Nur Khatun, and passed over their transgressions and brought back Sardar Mihr Ullah Khan, Raisáni, Sardar Muhammad Khan, Sháhwáni, and Sardar Khan, Rind, treating them with all manner of respect and consideration, with him as hostages to Ganjabáh and gave them every assurance of good treatment. The Khan having left the hostages at Ganjabáh proceeded himself to Bhág accompanied by the forces of the Jahalabán, from where he despatched the Akhund, Mulla Fateh Muhammad Khan and Mulla Dad Muhammad to punish the Bugtis who inhabit the Sulaiman hills, and to bring back Ali Sher, Kalpur. The Akhund and Mulla Dad Muhammad by the good fortune of the Khan having marched into the country of the Bugtis succeeded in punishing them, and brought back Ali Sher as a hostage with them to the Khan, who gave the Baluchis of the Sulaiman hills khillats and permission to retire to their country.

After some time had elapsed, the Khan acting on the advice of Dád Muhammad slew Sardar Mihr Ullah Khan,<sup>240</sup> whereupon Sardar Mir Asad Khan, Raisáni, Sardar Muhammad Khan, Sháhwáni,<sup>241</sup> Saiad Muhammad Sharif, Mir Abd-ul-Karim, brother of Mir Asad Khan, and Mir Misri Khan, Mingal Shahizai, formed a conspiracy, and fearing further outrages, they exposed the acts of the Khan by flying to Pishin, and laying a complaint before Sardar Sherdil Khan, the Ruler of Kandahar, informing him of the martyrdom of Sardar Mihr Ullah Khan, and their own helpless condition. They drew attention to the intervention of Ahmad Shah in the case of the Gichkis, in the time of the great Khan Mir Muhammad Násir Khan, when after seven hundred Brahuís had been killed in a fair fight at Nasirabad in Kej, that Khan was taken to task for his conduct; and how much more should the present be reprehended for slaying a Sardar of the standing of Mihr Ullah Khan for no fault and without cause. In reply Sherdil Khan, an individual with a keen sense of honour, sent for them to Kandahar, and two of the Sarábán Sardars accompanied his messenger to Kandahar. Sherdil, who was of an honourable and generous disposition, proceeded in person to Pishin with a force and met Sardar Asad Khan and Mir Muhammad Khan and Saiad Muhammad Sharif, and took them back with him to Kandahar, and Mir Misri and Abdul Karim were dismissed with assurances of protection to their own homes. Mir Isa Khan, Mingal, and Mir Yár Muhammad, Shahizai, who had fled to Sindh previous to the execution of Sardar Mihr Ullah Khan, having heard of the reception of the Sarábán Chiefs by Sherdil Khan and of his projected expedition to Kalat (*prepared to follow in the footsteps of those Sardars*).

The Khan summoned the Akhund to his presence and asked his advice in this critical moment. The latter represented that his ancestors had been servants of the Khans, and that he had no other object in view but the good of the Khan of Kalat; but that Dad Muhammad, who had been the author of such bad actions, was not actuated by such feelings. He then went on to state that in his opinion opposition should be offered to the Ruler of Kandahar and volunteered together with Sháhghassi Mulla Nur Muhammad to proceed to Mastung and raise the forces of Sarábán, and having collected the forces of the Zigar Mingals afterwards, that they should prepare for war and await events. Accordingly the Akhund and the Sháhghassi proceeded to Mastung where on arrival he collected the available forces of Sarábán, and the Zigar Mingals having

<sup>240</sup> According to Masson, twenty-three or twenty-four of the most distinguished Brahúi Chiefs and individuals were sacrificed in succession to calm the apprehensions of Dád Muhammad.—(Masson's Kalat.)

<sup>241</sup> Afterwards the leader-in-chief of Násir Khan's adherents.

also collected a large number of fighting men, also joined the Akhund, who with these forces at his disposal prepared for hostilities. Sherdil Khan set out for the Khan's territory accompanied by 10,000 completely equipped horse and several guns, and formed his camp at Kila Hájí, where he providentially fell ill with fever, and owing to the violence of this disease, he returned to Kandahar, where, after some time had elapsed, he died, and was succeeded by Purdil Khan, his brother. The latter despatched the Akhund Zada, Gheith, to Mehrab Khan to settle the affairs of those Sarábán Sardars, who had fled to Kandahar for redress, desiring the Khan to depute the Akhund to settle the matter, that nothing but the advent of the Akhund would satisfy the Sardars of Sarábán, and that no other but the Akhund would have the same effect upon them. The Khan having summoned the Akhund pointed out that in the days when Fateh Khan, Barakzai, was Wazir, his missions to Kandahar were uniformly attended by good results, and desired him also in the present case to proceed to that place and arrange matters. The Akhund expressed his conviction that he would be able to bring the Sarábán Sardars back with him, but he requested that in return for his services he might be allowed to take his son Mulla Muhammad Sidik Khan with him. But Dád Muhammad knowing that if the Akhund went to Kandahar he would arrange matters satisfactorily and bring back the Sarábán Sardars who were in exile there and consequently gain a complete ascendancy over the Khan, attempted to prevent his taking his son with him. Dád Muhammad thereupon said to the Akhund, in the Khan's Court, that it would not be advisable to take Muhammad Sidik to Kandahar, and after dilating upon his and his son's fidelity to the Khan's family, the Akhund finally declined to proceed to Kandahar. He thereupon left the Khan's presence and had made up his mind to depart, as he feared that Dád Muhammad might do him or his son some harm, for the slaughter of Mir Mihr Ullah Khan weighed upon his mind, and brought great distrust into existence on the part of the Sardars and Raíses towards the Ruler. Owing to this feeling of insecurity, the leading men of the country decided to accompany the Akhund if he decided to leave the country and Mir Karam Khan and Yakub Khan, Iltazais, Jam Ali, and all the chiefs of Jahalabán, such as Sardar Mir Rashid Khan of Zehri, Mir Bohir, Musiani, Mir Isa Khan, Mir Yar Muhammad, Mingal Shahizai, and others gathered round the Akhund. The Khan hearing this news, sent his mother to the Akhund and the Jahalabán Sardars to pacify them and bring them back to their allegiance, but owing to the fear of the Khan that had taken hold of the minds of those men, all her efforts and coaxing were unavailing and the lady returned to her son unsuccessful. The Akhund, however, considered the matter, and perceived that as the Khan had the support of no tribe in the country, and as both Mir Shahnawaz Khan and his brother Fateh Khan were with the Khan, the Sardars of Jahalabán might from fear of their lives set aside every member of the Ahmadzai family, including Mir Shahnawaz and Fateh Khan and that the responsibility for this would be universally thrown upon him, who thus would in a day destroy the reputation he had built up by a life time of faithful service in the affairs of that family.

After the negotiations, the Akhund had set out towards Khusdar in company with the Sardars of Jahalabán and by the time that they had arrived in Khusdar, the Brahui tribesmen, altogether hopeless of any benefit accruing, threw off the Khan's authority, and began molesting the shop-keepers in the Bazar. Dád Muhammad himself set out for Kandahar and the Khan sent his wife, the daughter of Jam Ali, to Khusdar to the Akhund to pacify him, and the latter represented to the Khan's wife that both he and his son ought to be looked upon as the "Khanazads" of the Khan, but that there was no help for him but to leave Kalat, as the Sarabán clans were in rebellion, and were plundering the Kachhi, in consequence of which it was necessary for him to proceed to the Kachhi and put a stop to the disorders in order to give the cultivators protection, and permit them to dwell unmolested. X

Mulla Muhammad Sidik Khan, son of the Akhund, with Mir Karam Khan, and Yakub Khan, Iltazai, Jam Ali, Sardar Mir Rashid Khan Zehri, Isa Khan, Mingal Shahizai, Mir Yar Muhammad, Mingal, were deputed to escort the Khan's wife to Kalat, where they also had audience of the Khan, who, to show that he was well disposed towards them, presented them with handsome khillats, and despatched them to the Kachhi. Jam Ali set out for his own



territory of Las Bela, while Mulla Muhammad Sidik, with his companions having received honours at the hand of their suzerain, joined the Akhund, whom they found in the town of Bhág, together with the Naib Mulla Muhammad Hasan. The Sarábán rebels had surrounded Bhág, but, notwithstanding, the Akhund was able to protect the crops and fields, and the cultivators from being harassed, and appointed Mulla Muhammad Hasan Naib of Bhág. The Khan upon hearing of it wrote to the Akhund to cancel the appointment; the latter represented that the Khan had had the father of this man executed, and his property plundered as well, and that it would be as well to allow the appointment just made, as it would reconcile Mulla Muhammad Hasan to the Khan, and the latter agreed to the request of the Akhund as to the re-employment of this individual but appointed him to be Naib of Dádhar, instead of Bhág, where he remained till the martyrdom of Mulla Dád Muhammad, when he was appointed to the dignity possessed formerly by his father. Mulla Muhammad Sidik at this time decided to proceed on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Lall Shahbáz at Sehwan, and having obtained his father's sanction carried out his intention of visiting that shrine. While at Sehwan he was invited to visit Hyderabad where he was received with great respect by the Tálpur Amirs on the occasion of his visit, and the minister of the Tálpurs, Sardar Wali Muhammad Laghari, tried to induce him to take up his residence in the territory of the Tálpur Amirs. Muhammad Sidik refused to comply with this request, and returned to his own country and rejoined his father. But previous to his return, the Khan had sent his mother to the Akhund, who was informed by her that the Khan would no longer retain Mulla Dád Muhammad in his service and that he might with every assurance accompany her back to Kalat to the presence of the Khan, and that she would obtain fulfilment of all his desires upon arrival, and that he would be able to assume his former office of Wazir, entering into a fresh understanding with his master. The Akhund made a speech in reply, setting forth the difficulties he would have to encounter owing to the murder of Mihr Ullah Khan and the disaffection of his subjects arising from it, and he pointed out that in connection with this state of affairs and in order to mollify them and remove the distrust of the Brahui clans towards their Ruler, he had proposed that he ought to proceed to Kandahar and reconcile Asad Khan and Muhammad Khan, Shahwani, and bearing promises (from the Khan) by right dealing, and not by force, to bring them away from the Court of Purdil Khan to Kalat; but that Dad Muhammad had induced the Khan to refuse permission to his proposal that his son should accompany him to Kandahar, and that when he saw the Khan was ruled by Dad Muhammad, and took no notice of his faithful service and that of his ancestors in the times of preceding Khans, out of fear he had fled from Court. But now upon the assurance of the Khan's mother he was prepared to return.

After accomplishing the usual stages, by way of the Morah Pass, they had reached Anjira, when news reached them that Dad Muhammad had returned to the Khan's Court from Kandahar. Upon this Muhammad Sidik Khan was in the act of representing to the Akhund that he himself would not proceed to Kalat, but go on to Baghbanah instead, when news arrived that the Khan had left Kalat, as if on a foray, and was on his way with the intention of attacking them. They were astonished that at one time he should despatch his mother with every assurance of safety to them, and that within a short time after he should be on the point of attacking them suddenly. However, when the Khan arrived at Anjira, Sardar Asad Khan, who was an honourable and upright man, advised the Khan of the consequences of his proposed breach of faith, and the latter, who was not destitute of foresight, took the Sardar's advice and desisted from his plan of attacking the Akhund's party. After matters had been arranged, Mulla Muhammad Sidik had audience of the Khan, and offered his homage. The Akhund accompanied the Khan to Surab where they halted, and the latter treated the Akhund as his guest and visited him to console him for his past troubles. The Akhund dilated at length on the services rendered to the Kalat State, and passed in review the transactions that had been entrusted to his father in the days of the late Mahmud Khan; how that he himself had placed Mehrab Khan upon the *gadi*, assuring him that he considered the welfare of the State as identified with his own. Mir Mehrab

now heaped favours upon the Akhund, and departing from Surab they reached Kalat in due course.

But inasmuch as Dád Muhammad was an inveterate enemy in every respect of Mulla Muhammad Sidik, at the time that Sardar Rahamdil Khan advanced on Shál Kot from the direction of Siwi with some guns and a small force, and turned Malik Dinár Shahizái out of Shál by stratagem taking possession of that district, and Sardar Kohandil Khan despatched Sardar Mehirdil Khan with reinforcements to Sardar Rahamdil, the troops of the Kandahar Sardars advanced on Mastung and took possession of it. Mulla Muhammad Sidik on another occasion, accompanied by Sardar Mir Muhammad Khan, Shahwáni, Mir Ibrahim Khan and Kutub Khan, Raisáni, and Ján Muhammad, Mingal, arrived in Mastung and laid their complaints against Dád Muhammad before the Barakzai Sardars. But at length laying aside their personal aims, they brought about peace between the two Governments.

After some time Shah Shuja'a-ul-Mulk, together with an army raised in Hindustan, arrived within the limits of the Shikárpur District. Muhammad Sidik set out from Kalat and altogether without the connivance of any one, taking with him Mir Muhammad Hasan, Raisani, and only one servant, Allah Bakhsh by name, and made for the Court of the Shah with all possible speed, and arrived in due course at his destination. After a few days Shah Shuja'a set out for Kandahar and having arrived at this place he pitched his camp outside the city. Here a battle was fought between the rival armies, in which the Shah was defeated and his followers dispersed. On the way Mir Shahnawáz Khan and Fateh Khan, Ahmadzais, had met Muhammad Sidik, in which had lavished much kindness on him, but he refused to have anything to do with them as he owed allegiance to Mir Mehrab Khan, and could have nothing in common with his enemies. Having turned a deaf ear to the blandishments of Shahnawáz Khan, Muhammad Sidik returned to Kalat, and was restored to the favour of the Khan.

After his defeat before Kandahar, Shuja'a-ul-Mulk proceeded to Lásh, hoping to receive aid from Prince Kamrán, but being disappointed in his expectations he made his way to Kalat where he was treated with all due respect and kindness by Mehrab Khan. And when the Shah at length took his departure from Kalat, the latter appointed Isá Khan, Mingal Sháhizái, to accompany him, to see that he suffered no inconvenience by the way.

After the defeat of Shuja'a-ul-Mulk's forces before Kandahar, Shahnawáz Khan betook himself to the Kachhi, and having arrived at Dádhar he slew Bárán, a servant of the Khans. The Khan upon hearing of this, despatched Mir Azam Khan, his younger brother, towards Bhág, to guard against Mir Shahnawáz's designs, as the latter had arrived at this place with a force raised from the tribes of Sarábán, and had been joined by the Naib of that place, Mulla Muhammad Hasan and his brethren. A skirmish took place in which Muhammad Hussein, brother of the Naib of Bhág, was slain and Mir Shahnawáz Khan's following dispersed.

After a few years had passed, Shah Shuja'a-ul-Mulk, with the assistance of the British, arrived at Shikárpur on his way to regain his country. On the first occasion, at the suggestion of the Naib, Muhammad Hasan, the Khan appointed Saiad Muhammad Sharif and again, on a second occasion, Naib Mulla Muhammad Hasan, himself, to wait upon Shuja'a-ul-Mulk. After this Saiad Muhammad Sharif, accompanied by Sir Alexander Burnes, proceeded to Mir Mehrab's Court, and tried his best to induce the Khan to proceed to Shál Kot to the presence of Shah Shuja'a, and to interview Macnaghten Saheb, who possessed the dignity of a Lord. But owing to the rapidity with which the British troops advanced, the Khan was unable to proceed to Shál Kot; as none of the Sardars were in attendance on him at the time, he was unable to summon a force (or following) with speed, to enable him to accompany Sir Alexander Burnes. Owing to this reason that, before he could assemble his followers and join them, they (the British) had started for Kandahar and Kabul. Immediately upon their arrival they captured both those towns, and took up their abode in those localities. Owing to the Afghans not having joined them, Bean Saheb was sent to Shál, and Labadin Saheb to Mastung. After this, Mehrab Khan despatched this slave, that is to say, Mulla Muhammad Sidik, to Kabul, to Shah Shuja'a-ul-Mulk with a message to say that the Khans of

Kalat had from ancient times been servants of the Sadozai family and had exhibited zeal and valour in their service, beseeching him not to be unmindful of his interests.

And accordingly he set out by way of Mastung where he had an interview with Labadin (Loveday) Saheb, who having learnt the object of his errand, that no good result would accrue from the mission upon which he was bound to the camp of the Padishah (Shah Shuja'a) and the Lord (Sir William Macnaghten) and that he (Loveday) had orders not to permit him to proceed, and that he had been instructed that no interview regarding a peaceable settlement should now be entered into with the Khan, as the mission of Sir Alexander Burnes had been prompted by kindness. As the Khan himself was renowned for his foresight, so that he was able to frame a reply to words that had, as yet, not been spoken, he (the Khan) must know by means of this most excellent qualification for which he is celebrated, that as no one can get the better of him in speech, orders have been issued to attack him, so that he might either be slain or taken prisoner, and not to admit him to peace, but that if he made his submission he was to be seized. It was a matter of surprise that, while yet there had been an opportunity for reconciliation, he had not despatched other Agents to the British officials; but when the time had come when he was about to reap the consequences of his acts, his master had deputed the Akhund; and these negotiations were intended merely as a stratagem on his part. The Akhund laid his turban at Mr. Loveday's feet and made supplication on behalf of his master, but the former merely vouchsafed in reply, that he would delay hostilities for fifteen days, so that he (the Akhund) might return to his master, and remove his family and effects from the fort of Kalat; and that this was all the indulgence that would be shown towards the Khan.

The Akhund thereupon left Mastung and returned to the presence of the Khan, his master, and related to him whatsoever had transpired during his interview with Mr. Loveday. The Khan, while foreseeing that he could not hope to oppose the advance of the British troops with any prospect of success, nor hope to find a place of refuge in any of the neighbouring countries, determined to defend the country and throne of his ancestors, and to accept the fate of a martyr in their defence, in preference to seeking refuge in exile and abandoning his inheritance.

After a gallant resistance, in which he displayed great courage upon the 15th of Ramzán 1255 A.H. (13th November 1839 A.D.) he drank the draught of martyrdom and attired himself in the garments of a holy warrior.

After the martyrdom of the Khan, the British officials placed Mir Shahnawáz Khan on the throne of Kalat. But after some time had elapsed, Mir Asad Khan, Raisáni, Sardar Muhammad Khan, Shahwáni, with Mir Adam Khan, Bangalzai, and Malik Dinár Muhammad Shahi and the whole of the people of Sarábán, having made a compact and having placed their reliance upon the Almighty for the success of their plans, sent for Mir Muhammad Násir Khan, son of the late Mir Mehráb Khan, the martyr, from Khārán, where Mir Azad Khan, Naushirwáni, had given him an asylum, and had acquired a great reputation by the aid he lent to his fugitive Chief. The confederated Sarábán Sardars then broke out into open rebellion against Mir Shahnawáz Khan, and fought several actions with his partisans.

The British Government being just in their dealings deputed the Colonel (Stacey) to treat with Mir Násir Khan, and after the first interview the Colonel (Stacey) having discovered from indications visible in his countenance the intelligence and good qualities possessed by the Khan, who in his youth had given promise of greatness, placed him upon the throne of Kalat in an auspicious moment, and the day of his accession was kept as a festival of rejoicing.<sup>208</sup>

Mir Muhammad Násir Khan (this was his official title, his *real* name having been Muhammad Hasan) ruled but for a short space of time, as he was cut off by a premature death in the prime of his age. He was born in 1232 A.H., he succeeded to the *gadi* in 1256 A. H., and he died at Anjira in 1297 A.H.

1273 A.H.; during his reign he was popular with his subjects, and he adhered to his engagements with the British Government.<sup>20</sup>

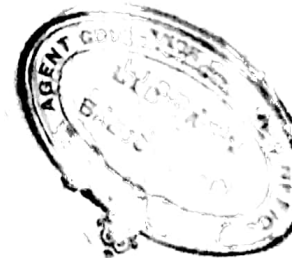
He was succeeded by his half-brother, Mir Khudádád, the late ruler of Kalat, in 1273 A.H. (1859 A.D.); the latter was a son of the late Mir Mehrab Khan by his concubine, Khadijah, a slave girl, by whom he also had two daughters. After a reign of six years, in 1279 A.H. (1864 A.D.) Khudádád Khan was driven from the throne by the successes of his cousin, Sherdil Khan, who with the Brahui Sardars had rebelled against the Khan, and in one of the engagements that took place the latter was wounded in a personal encounter with his cousin, who was renowned as a fine swordsman.

Sherdil Khan was at the head of affairs in Kalat for but a short time, as he was killed by one of his officers while reviewing some of his troops at Bág-bánáh, after a reign of only 14 months.

Mir Khudádád then, once again, got possession of the *gadi* of Kalat, but his reign was troubled by the rebellion of the Brahui Sardars: until in 1875 the British Government intervened between the Khan and his Chiefs, and concluded the last treaty with him during 1875 A.D. In 1893, owing to his tyranny, he was deposed, and his eldest son, Mir Mahmud Khan, was raised to the throne of Kalat.

<sup>20</sup> The Akhund's narrative ends at this point.

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## APPENDIX 1.

The Naushirwani tribe is settled in the country round Kharan. But they only acquired this tract in the lifetime of Azad Khan, prior to which they inhabited the hills west of Surab and were found in that locality by Pottinger in 1810. Azad Khan, whose ancestor is alluded to, was a famous freebooter, and his exploits and the forays he made are the theme of many a tale and ballad in the country; he died in 1885 at a great age, and was succeeded by his son, Nauroz Khan, who was made a K.C.I.E. Mir Shahdad, an ancestor of the present Chief, received a grant of land at Hazárjuf south of Kandahar, from Shah Hussein, Ghilzai. This is a tribe that is believed to have migrated eastwards from Persia, and it is also said to be of very ancient origin. The real name is not Naushirwani, but Tabuki or Tabukáni, and unaltered form of the name of a district mentioned by Nearchos in the record of his voyage up the Persian Gulf in B.C. 325, the name of which he gives as Taóké, situated on the River Granis. Strabo mentions a place called Taoce where there was a palace of the Persian Kings. Ptolemy mentions a place, an inland town, and a district called respectively Taóké and Taokáni, and Idrisi, the same under the name Touag.

The late Azad Khan, Naushirwani, called himself a Tabukáni. The Naushirwanis are connected with the Chhotta tribe, but how is not known; it would be interesting to learn whether both tribes are traced to a common stock in connection with the alleged descent of the latter from the Sumeras.

According to the late Sir Oliver St. John, the Naushirwanis were so called from being the inhabitants of the Nushirwan District in Western Persia.

## APPENDIX 2.

The Barozais of Siwi and Dádar took a not unimportant part in the struggle for power between Aurangzeb and his eldest brother, Dára Shekoh. After his defeat at Ajmere the latter retired to Guzerat, where he was denied admittance to the town of Ahmedabad, and continued his flight, by way of Kachh, towards Sind. He was attended by Firuz Mewati, and in Guzerat he was joined by one of his servants, Gul Muhammad by name, whom he had appointed Foujdar of Surat, with a body of 50 horsemen and 200 matchlockmen. From Kachh Dára Shekoh set out in the direction of Bhakar; but on his arrival on the banks of the Indus he was deserted by Firuz Mewati. Dára crossed the river and entered the district of Chandkhan (i.e., Chandukah, the country inhabited by the Chandias Baluchis, which had from preceding times been a portion of the district under the Governor of Bhakar.—G. P. T.), who opposed his march and attempted to seize his person; but as he was still at the head of a small force, the Prince was able to defeat the designs of his enemies and force a passage for himself and his cortège through that district and into the country inhabited by the Magassis. The Magassi Chief, who was paramount in his own territory and the head of his tribe, treated the refugees with kindness and undertook to send them under escort to Kandahar, distant from ten to twelve marches. Dára, however, did not agree to this, but determined to throw himself upon the protection of Malik Jiwan-i-Ayub, the zemindar of Dádar, upon whose gratitude he had a claim (Bernier says that Malik Jiwan's life had been saved by Dára, when the former, upon one occasion, had been condemned by Shah Jehan to be trampled to death by an elephant). Just before the Prince reached Dádar his wife died, and as she had expressed a desire to be buried in Hindustan, her corpse was despatched in charge of the Prince's Nazir, Khwajeh Ma'akul, to Lahore, escorted by Gul Muhammad with 70 well-equipped horse, by whose departure the Prince was left destitute of soldiers and with only the menials of his household. Being in the power of Malik Jiwan Ayub, when on the 29th Mubarram 1069 A.H. (17th October 1653) the Prince set out in the direction of Kandahar, he was seized by the former who had laid an ambush for the purpose. News of the capture having been sent to Bahadur Khan and Raja Jey Singh, who commanded the forces pursuing Dára in Guzerat the first, named officer hastened by forced marches and reached Dádar on the 9th Shawal (31st May 1659), his men suffering severely from the effects of the Simoom which prevails in those parts at that season. Bahadur Khan despatched the prisoners together with Malik Jiwan Ayub to Delhi, where the latter was pelted and abused by the populace, when he accompanied the unfortunate Prince who was paraded with ignominy through the streets of the capital. But he was rewarded by Aurangzeb with the title of Bakhtiar Khan, and raised to the dignity of a commander of 1,000 horse.—(*Alamgir Nama*.)

Bakhtiar Khan was waylaid in a forest on his return towards his own country and slain (Bernier). Shahamat Ali, in his History of the Daudpatras, mentions that Bakhtiar Khan Pani was slain by Mubarak Daudpatra, aided by his leading men, which was very probably on his return from Delhi to which allusion has been just made.

\* In the Genealogy of the Barozais of the Kachhi, this name appears as Jind; Ayub was probably a remote ancestor.

Had Dára made his way to Kandahar, as he would have been able if he had agreed to the plan proposed by the Magassi Sardar, the current of events in the History of India would probably have been materially affected. Mohabat Khan, Subadar of Kabul, was a man of approved ability, and a firm adherent of this Prince. Money was available for raising troops to supplement those already entertained in the Subah: and among the hardy tribes inhabiting the surrounding districts of Kabul and the warlike inhabitants of the countries beyond the Hindu Kush, there was a wide and prolific field for recruiting a powerful army, with whose aid he would probably have wrested the Empire from the grasp of Aurangzeb.

### APPENDIX 3.

Before A.D. 1725 the present town of Karachi had, according to an account drawn up from old family papers by a wealthy Hindu trader and resident of the place, Sett Naomal, C.S.I., no existence whatever; but it is there stated that there was a town called Kharak situate on the other side of the Hab River at its confluence with the sea. Trade was carried on by this place with Shahbandar, Lahari Bandar in Sind, Maskat, Surat, Porebandar and Malabar. Owing to the harbour of Kharak silting up in 1729, the inhabitants moved to a spot near the head of the present harbour of Karachi originally known as Dirbo, and having a pool of water in the immediate neighbourhood called Kulachi Kun. This place then went by the name of Kulachi-jo-Got, and from this is said to be derived the name of Karachi. Considerable trade sprung up under the protection of the Jam Daria Khan Jokia \* \* \* \* \* When the harbour of Shahbandar became hopelessly blocked up, many of the inhabitants left it for Karachi \* \* \* In 1795, the Khan of Kalat being unable to send troops for its defence, Karachi was surrendered to Mir Karam Ali, Talpur.—(*Gazetteer of Sind, Art. Karachi.*)

Mir Mahmud had succeeded his father in the spring of 1794 A.D. and the opening years of his reign were very troublous, and could have left no opportunity for looking after his interests in Karachi.

### APPENDIX 4.

Shál, the valley in which Shál Kot (Quetta) is situated, was a district of the Sarkar of Kandahar, when the latter was acquired by Akbar. It is mentioned in the 'Ain-i-Akbari: "territory of Shál has a mud fort; 4½ tumans in money; 940 sheep, 780 kharwars of grain; Afghans of Kasi and Baluch, 100 horse, and 500 foot."—(*Major Jarrett's translation.*)

The extent of the Shál Valley is defined in a sanad granted by Násir Khan I to the Kasi headmen, dated 11th Muharram 1172. On the east the limit is Dokan Nari (between Quetta and Sangar and about 25 miles to the east of Quetta); on the west the Ajiram range; on the north the Takhtunah Lora (a stream that issues from the Takatu hill and joins the Shál Lora near Haidarzar, flowing past Bostan) and the valley of Kahnak, and the Landi Gharki Kallan on the south. The ancient name of Shál Kot is said to have been Rasulabad. Judging from the numerous remains of villages that exist throughout the valley, it must at one time have been very well populated. The destruction of these is due to the ravages of the Moghals, parties of whom had at various periods penetrated even to Sind and the Punjab. The Kasi Afghans who now inhabit the country originally came from Ghor, they say, where they are still represented. They are an ancient race, and are mentioned in Manu's Hindu Code, where they are coupled with the Daradas or Dards. They occupied Northern India and Persia before the Arian immigration and were gradually driven into the hills from the plains. The Kasis of Shál were settled there in 1500 A.D.; for about six years after this date the Kasi headman gave his daughter in marriage to Mir Fazil Kokaltash, one of Shah Beg Arghun's officers (Shal and Mastung taken by the Arghuns in 1496 A.D., when Zunun Arghun conquered the country up to the limits of Sewistan or Sehwan and Baluchistan) and from this marriage sprung Sultan Mahmud, one of the leading Arghun nobles, who eventually shared Sindh with Mirza Isa Tarkhan. In the reign of Shah Jehan, Rajo and Zangi, Rind Chiefs, raided Shál by way of the Bolan. Defeated by the Kasis after a severe engagement about three miles south of Quetta, since when the small stream of Zangi Lora was given its name, as the action took place at its source when Zangi, the Rind Chief, was killed.

Tatar Khan Kasi was one of the principal officers of Selim Shah Sur and commanded in the Punjab.

Not long ago, while excavating foundations in the Fort at Quetta, a statue was discovered supposed to represent Hercules. It is, perhaps, a relic of the period when the Bactrian Empire under Menander (about 165-130 B.C.) included Kabul, the Punjab and Sindh with the capital city Minagara on the Lower Indus and the intervening countries as well.

### APPENDIX 4(a).

Pashin lies to the north and north-west of the Shál district from which it is separated by the Takhtunah Lora. It consists of an open plain, the soil of which is chiefly a light clay, and

it is drained by the Kakar Lora, which rises among the hills to the north-east, and receives the drainage brought down by the smaller streams that join it.

South and west of Peshin lies the district of Shora-rud (bitter water) so called from the fact that the water contained in the streams draining it is always brackish, and frequently undrinkable, owing to the considerable amount of salts held in suspension, which gives the water great aperient qualities. The division between Peshin and Shora-rud is not marked by any natural features, but above the little village of Burj, situated upon the banks of the Lora, the country is generally considered as belonging to Peshin, and to the south of that village debouches into the low lying alluvial plain of Shorawak; the portion lying between these localities being known as "Rod" or "Rud."

Peshin is inhabited by the Târin and Kakar tribes, the Achakzais, who are found in the western portions, being comparatively late arrivals. The Târans are divided into two sections—the Spin and Tor Târans—the former being considered higher in social standing to the latter, and both are ethnically the same, it is said, as the Yusufzai tribes, north-west of Peshawar.

There were two methods of spelling the name Peshin, evidently, as in Major Jarrett's translation of the 'Ain-i-Akbari it is transcribed as "Pashang," and the author of the "Tarikh-i-Sind," Mirza Ma'asum Bhakari, who was a contemporary of Abul Fazl, the author of the 'Ain-i-Akbari, also writes it as "Pishing" or "Pashang," but in the Tarikh-i-Nadiri, and previous to this in the "Badshahnamah," it is written Poshang, or Poshanj. The two last are, however, comparatively modern works; the Badshahnamah occupying an intermediate position with respect to the first two and the Tarikh-i-Nadiri.

Peshin appears to have been a part of the Wilayat of Kandahar, and was part of the territory assigned to Mir Zulnun Beg, Arghun, by Sultan Hussein Mirza, and when Mirza Badi-us-Zaman, son of the latter, revolted from his father, and fled to Zulnun Beg for shelter, the latter having received the rebellious prince, espoused his cause, and placing tried officers in charge of his forts in the Zamindawar, laid waste the country to check the advance of Sultan Hussein Mirza (a descendant of the celebrated Amir Taimur Lang, who governed Khurasan as an independent sovereign) and retired himself to the fort of Peshin. The latter may have been situated on the site of the modern fort, or the ancient site of Sur-Kala lying west of Peshin itself in the direction of Karbala may be that of the Arghun's fort.

Mir Zulnun Beg, Arghun, lost his life in the battle of Maruchak in A.H. 913 (1507 A.D.) and his sons, Shah Beg and Mokim Khan, succeeded to their father's possessions. They, however, became embroiled with Emperor Babar, who eventually in 928 A.H. (A.D. 1522) became the possessor of the town and fortress of Kandahar.

The Arghuns now retired into their eastern possessions, Shâl and Siwi, whence they proceeded into Sind and dispossessed the last Sammah Jam, Firuz, of that country. Kandahar was held by one or other of the sons of Babar till the return of Humayun, his eldest son, from Persia, with aid furnished by the Shah, to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions.

Shah Beg, Arghun, died when he was setting out on his projected conquest of Guzerat on the 22nd Shaaban 928 (17th June 1522 A.D.), according to the Tarikh-i-Sind, and was succeeded by his son, Shah Hassan Mirza. During their reigns, the Emperor Baber having died, the districts of Shâl and Peshin, also Mastung and Kalat, were held by them. Shah Hassan Mirza, Arghun, died in 962 A.H. (1554-55) and Sind was divided by his two great nobles, Sultan Mahmud (Bhakar and Upper Sind as far south as Siwasthan), and Mirza Isa Tarkhan (from Siwasthan to the sea). But before Shah Hassan's death, his hold on the districts beyond the mountains to the west of Siwi had relaxed, and in 1546, when Humayun re-took Kandahar from the Governor who held it on behalf of Mirza Kamran, Shâl and Peshin passed out of the possession of the Arghuns. For in the same year (1546) Humayun, having also deprived his brother, Kamran of Kabul, to celebrate his successes, assigned various districts to his nobles, and among others, Mir Saiad Ali, whose influence was very great among the Afghans and Baluchis, received the Governorship of Duki, dependant on Hindustan; and said to have not been far from that Chief's own residence.

Another of the principal Baluch Chiefs, by name Lawang, having also acknowledged the Emperor, obtained as a reward the districts of Shâl and Mastung.\*

During the reign of Humayun's son, the great Akbar, Kandahar was one of the Subahs, into which the Moghal Empire were divided, and it is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, that Peshin formed one of the districts subject to the Subadar of Kandahar: "territory of Pashang has an old fort of unbaked brick, 33 tumans in money, 3,200 sheep, 500 kharwars of grain, 1,500 horse and 1,500 foot."—(Major Jarrett's translation.)

Kandahar remained a part of the Empire till the early part of Akbar's reign, when it fell into the hands of the Persians, but was recovered later on during the beginning of the reign of Shah Abbass. But during the last years of the reign of Jahangir in 1621 A.D., the Persians again obtained possession of Kandahar, as the Governor of that Subah appointed by the Emperor of Delhi, Basha Beg Khan, Kabuli, had made his submission to the Shah, and had proceeded himself to the Persian Court. Ali Murdan was appointed Governor of Kandahar, and Shir Khan Târin (for so the author of the Badshahnamah calls him), son of Basha Beg (who was probably a Târin Afghan) was appointed a Governor over the Afghan tribes of Poshanj (Peshin) and the vicinity. The latter, however, did not acknowledge Ali Murdan's superiority, but set up as an independent Governor. Owing to his lawless conduct

\* Brinkin's Baber and Humayun.

the route of communication between India and Kandahar (used by merchants) became closed until, at length, having collected a large force from among the Afghans inhabiting the neighbouring hills, he set out to raid the districts of Siwi and Ganjabad and to carry off the cattle and property of their inhabitants, merely leaving a small force to garrison his fort of Foshanj to look after his family. Ali Murdan having obtained information set out from Kandahar with 3,000 horse of his own forces, and 1,000 horse drawn from the zamindars (local levies) and advanced rapidly on Foshanj (Peshin) which he reached early one morning, and carried it by surprise, without any delay. He found much plunder and very many horses within it which he sent to Kandahar, with the members of Shir Khan's family. The latter having heard of the misfortune that had befallen him returned, like a madman, with the utmost haste. Ali Murdan had, however, arranged to intercept him and the two parties met at a place 2 or 3 kuroh from Peshin, where Shir Khan's adherents were defeated in a sharp engagement and he was compelled to fly to Duki and Chotiali, where, seeing no alternative, he sent a humble letter to the Yamin-ud-dowlah, Governor of Multan, who forwarded it to the Court of Delhi, and his submission was accepted and a jagir assigned him in the Punjab.

Shortly after Ali Murdan was himself compelled, having excited the suspicions of his master, the Shah of Persia, to surrender Kandahar to the Emperor of Hindustan, and the town was made over to his officers on the 16th Zil-Hajj 1047 A.H. (22nd March 1638 A.D.). At this period the fort of Foshang with nine other forts: Duki, Chotiali, Hazyai (Harnai?) Fatehabad, Shál, Mastung, Kalat, Niehara, and Tul (or Tal) were included in the Kandahar Subadari.

Kandahar was retaken in 1648 A.D. by the Persians and held by them until the Ghilzais obtained possession. Peshin was doubtless held by a Persian Governor, and afterwards was acquired by the Khans of Kalat, until the reign of Mir Mahmud and Mehrab, when it appears to have been again annexed to Kandahar, to which it belonged until recently, when it was taken possession of by the British.

## APPENDIX 5.

*Transactions of Nadir Shah in Baluchistan and the countries adjacent.*—After having punished the Bakhtiari tribes for their revolt, Nadir returned to Isfahan and upon the 17th Rajab 1149 A.H. (12th October 1736 A.D.) he set out from his capital towards Kandahar by way of Kirman and the Desert of Kurk. He

Siege of Kandahar and operations in the vicinity. He left Seistan upon the 2nd Shawal of the same year (24th December 1737) and on the 18th of the same month (9th January) he reached Ghirishk, and took the fort after experiencing a brief resistance. Here Kalb Ali Khan, Afshar, son of Baba Ali Beg, was honoured by being appointed Governor of the Hazarajat and the Zamindawar, with instructions to reduce the forts in the latter district; and another body of troops was dispatched, accompanied by a train of artillery, to besiege the fort of Bast. Upon the 21st\* of the same month Nadir crossed the Hirmand (Helmand). During the winter the plains were naturally destitute of forage, but in order to retard the march of the invaders, Hussein had carried off all supplies into his fortress, and had set fire to what had remained, thus devastating the country. In consequence Nadir marched from Kushk-i-Nakhud to Shah Maksud, so that from the Doab the people of his camp might be able to bring in grain from the Hazarajat and the army might be able to proceed, and here they halted for 12 days. Marching thence the Royal forces encamped on the banks of the Arghandab, near the shrine of Baba Vali, and that night Hussein, with a body of picked men, attacked the camp of the invaders with a view of surprising it by a night attack; the outposts were however vigilant, and gave timely notice of the enemy's movements, thus placing their own side on the alert. The attack was repulsed and the enemy retreated in haste towards Kandahar, and next morning it became evident that Hussein himself had attempted the surprise at night. A ford having been discovered opposite the village of Kokeran, two farsakhs distant from Kandahar, the army in order and with its baggage passed over, under fire from the hill of Laki (or Kali) upon the crest of which there was a fort, which commanded the ford. Nadir Shah took up his position to the east of Kandahar and opened the siege upon Thursday, the 19th Zil Ka'adeh, 1149 (9th March 1737). The festival of the Nauroz was celebrated with great magnificence, the leaders and officers of the army were adorned with khillats of great value. The next day Fateh Ali Khan Afshar, one of the high officers of his army, was appointed by Nadir Shah to attack Kalat of the Ghilzais with a force of cavalry. On the night of the 3rd\* a deserter from the fort brought intelligence that Hussein had learnt the departure of the expedition towards Kalat, and early that morning had despatched Saidal, with 4,000 men of approved valour among the Afghans, to pursue them. Upon hearing this news Nadir set out with a party of horsemen upon Saidal's tracks and passed the city of Safah. It so happened that Fateh Ali Khan had made great haste; but he had bivouacked upon the Daman of the hills without taking any precautions to guard against a surprise, and the Afghans were on the point of falling upon them when the victorious standards appeared in sight. The Afghans took to flight, were pursued and a part of their number killed, while others were dispersed; but Saidal with a remnant made his way into Kalat, and prepared to stand a siege. Nadir Shah sent in the same prisoner who had brought him news of Saidal's movement, as a mes-

\* 12th January.

\* 3rd Zil Hajj 1149 A.H. = 23rd March 1737.



senger, to summon the garrison to surrender, offering them quarter which was refused, and Nadir leaving a force to watch Kalat returned to Nadirabad. On the 18th Shawal 1150 (Thursday, 29th December 1737) Sultan Ashraff, Ghilzai, whose forefathers had in the times of past sovereigns held authority over the Ghilzais, fled out of Kandahar and took shelter with Nadir Shah, in whose sight he found favour. He represented to that monarch that a force of Ghilzais had assembled on the banks of the Arghandáb, and a detachment from the Persian army having been sent out to repel the threatened attack, several of the Afghans were slain upon this occasion. On several occasions engagements had taken place between the opposing parties, but after this defeat the garrison of Kandahar confined themselves to the defensive. Orders were issued to surround the place with redoubts, at intervals of a quarter of a farsakh, the periphery of these works being as much as six or seven farsakhs, and in the towers of these works matchlockmen were placed as a garrison. But inasmuch as parties of Afghans used to pass between these works on dark nights between each redoubt, two towers were constructed and the ground planted with sword blades by means of which all possible means of egress were cut off from the besieged. On the 13th Muharram 1150 A.H. (Monday, 3rd May 1738) a report was received from the officers who had been deputed to take the fort of Bast, who stated that the Afghans had surrendered, and they requested that a Governor might be appointed to take charge of the place so that they might be free to join Nadir Shah's main body with the captive Afghans.

At the time of setting out in pursuit of Saidal, Nadir had taken no artillery with him, so upon his return he had despatched a train of artillery, escorted by troops, and equipped for the purpose of taking the city of Safah, and upon the 14th\* of the same month a report was received that by means of the fire from the guns and mortars, after a bombardment of only one day, the fort had been taken and its Afghan garrison captured and reduced to submission.

Saidal, when he had broken out of Kandahar flying before the victorious standards, had fled to Kalat, where he elected to stand a siege in company with Muhammad, son of Hussein, and a party of Afghans. The force detached to reduce the fort was under the orders of Imam Verdi Beg, Farklu, Nazir, who after some days had elapsed had captured a bastion upon the east side of the fort, and the Afghans were driven into the citadel, and held out for two months; but as soon as they saw that there was no hope of successfully withstanding the assaults of their enemies, they surrendered; and Imam Verdi Beg, in accordance with Nadir's desire, left a body of matchlockmen to garrison the fort, and despatched Muhammad, son of Hussein, with Saidal and the principal Afghans to the camp of his sovereign at Kandahar. Saidal having been implicated in the affairs of Isfahan and Herat was blinded; but Muhammad, son of Hussein, was treated with kindness.

From Isfahan, Pir Muhammad Khan and Isalmish Khan had been appointed to conduct operations in Baluchistan, and had been despatched with a train of artillery to correct the bad characters of Kharan. And after he had arrived at Kandahar, Nadir despatched Muhammad Ali Beg, Sar-yub-lu, his Naib, Ashik Akai Bashi, upon the 9th Zil-Hajj (18th March 1737) with a force to punish the tribe of Sher Khan, Baluch, and the Baluchieh (*Beraichi*? or *Brakhsis*?) of Shorawák, who were in a condition of rebellion. The force detailed on this service having reached within two farsakhs of Shorawak, the Baluchis having received intimation of the advance of these troops, and assembling their levies began to oppose the march of the victorious troops, in consequence of which 700 men of their forces fell under the keen swords of the invaders, while very many prisoners and camels were captured. After settling with this tribe, they proceeded to punish that of Sher Khan, who inhabited the country between Nuahki and Jagi (i.e., Chageh) and having fallen upon them towards morning the fighting men together with Sher Khan, their Chief, were put to the sword, and their dwellings and families captured.

Orders were now received by Muhammad Ali Beg, instructing him to proceed to Jalk and Járán<sup>b</sup> (i.e., Khárán, see above) to bring matters to an issue with reference to the Chiefs of the Baluch, and after settling their affairs to return to Shorabak and reduce the forts of that district.

Upon the 3rd Muharram 1150 A.H. (Friday, 23rd April 1737) Amir Muhammad Khan (i.e., Muhabbat Khan, see below) and Amir Iltiaz Khan, sons of Abdullah Khan, who had previous to this planted the graft of connection with this State (Persia) in all sincerity, were rendered distinguished by the bestowal of khillats, of horse, and of sword, and others equally valuable. As a gift, Amir Muhabbat Khan was raised to the Sardari of Baluchistan, and the Government of Shorawak was conferred upon Mehrab Sultan, Babi (*or Shawani*?) on account of previous good services, and he was appointed to the charge of the fort, and of the district of Foshanj (*Peshin* or *Pishing*). Three thousand men from the tribes of Kakars and Tárins having gathered together besieged the fort of Foshanj, but forces having been despatched by Nadir Shah to relieve Mehrab Sultan and to quell the disturbances, the besiegers took to flight.

Although the Chiefs to whom the affair had been entrusted had succeeded in carrying the fortress of Jalk, which was noted for its strength, by assault<sup>c</sup> and had brought it into

\* i.e., 4th May 1837.

<sup>b</sup> By way of the Dalbandin.—G. P. T.

<sup>c</sup> The Chief of the Reki Baluch was blown from a gun after capture.—G. P. T.

their possession, yet Pir Muhammad Khan, who was the senior officer, was a man of little sense and rash judgment, addicted to wine, and in consequence he separated from Isalmish Khan, and neglecting to march on Kharan, had involved his men in a waterless desert and hills, so that part of his force perished from thirst and hunger. Thereupon, Fateh Ali Khan, Char Khaji (?) Bashi, and Muhammad Ali Beg, Naib Ashik Akasi Bashi, Karklu, by order of Nadir Shah, proceeded with speed to Pir Muhammad's camp, and having beheaded him sent his head, together with his regiments, to the Royal camp.

\* \* \* \* \*

Nadir celebrates the Nauroz a second time at Nadirabad, and that very day makes arrangements for the assault of the city. A party of Bakhtiaris carry a bastion by storm, and on the 2nd of Zil-Hajj (11th February 1738), the city defences are carried; but Hussein and several of the Afghans, taking some of their women folk, make their way into Kaitul, a fort situated upon the crest of a hill to the south. Nadir, thereupon, ordered the cannon that had been captured upon the hill and in the bastions of the city, to be turned upon Kaitul, and Hussein seeing that his position was untenable, sent his eldest sister, Zinat by name, with several of the leading Ghilzais to sue for quarter, which was accorded: upon which Hussein, with the son of that Muhammad, together with those under his orders came out and having surrendered were admitted to quarter, and were deported into Mazenderan. Their treasure, the value of which was beyond computation, fell into the hands of Nadir Shah. Both Zulfikar Khan, Abdali, and Ahmad Khan, who had previously fled from Herat and arrived at Kandahar, where they had been imprisoned by Hussein, were on the day of victory themselves released from confinement, and appointed to Mazenderan, where an allowance sufficient for their maintenance was made to them from the revenues of that province.

The clan of the Ghilzais is divided into two tribes, one of which is called Hotaki, to which Hussein belonged, and the other, known as Tokhi, was under the Chiefship of Ashraf Sultan, who had submitted to Nadir after his arrival before Kandahar. The chiefship of the Tokhi tribe was confirmed to him, and in addition he received Kalat.

The city of Kandahar was razed to the ground and Nadirabad declared to be the capital and Abdul Ghani, Chief of the Abdalis, was appointed Governor of the province, in return for his past good service, and over Kartank, Bast and Zamindawar, Governors from among the leading men of the Abdalis were appointed. A part of the young men of the Ghilzai tribes were entertained by Nadir in his service, and Nadirabad and the surrounding country was fixed upon for the location of the tribe of the Abdalis, who at this time were settled in Nishapur and other districts of Khurassan; orders were issued that they should march to their new abode, and that the Ghilzai and Hotaki tribes should replace them at Nishapur, and on the 24th<sup>a</sup> Zil-Hajj, the latter, were caused to cross over the Arghand-ab on their way to the abode fixed for them. \* \* \* \* \*

Nadir proceeds to Hindustan, by way of Ghazni, Kabul and Peshawar; sacks Delhi, and returns to Kabul, where he learns that the Kalhora Ruler of Sind has shown a disposition to revolt. Nadir had previously confirmed him in the possession of Sind, with the title of Khudayar Khan. On receipt of this intelligence Nadir resolved to march to Sind.

Orders were issued to Muhammad Taki Khan, Beglar Begi of Fars, to assemble the troops of Fars, Kirman and the Koh-i-Kailubeh, and the ports, and to march by land towards

Sind, while the artillery was to be embarked in vessels belonging to the State and sent by sea to Sind and Tattah. Upon the 7th Ramadthan,<sup>b</sup> Nadir himself set out from Kabul, by way of Bangash and the Derajat towards Sind. Notwithstanding the difficulties that were encountered, his park of artillery was carried through with all facility, and on the 5th Shawal (25th November 1739) he arrived at Dera Ismail, and boats being plentiful his artillery with its escort were embarked in boats and despatched by river, while Nadir marched towards Dera Ghazi Khan.

He arrived at this place on the 15th of the same month (5th December) and received the surrender of the forts in that country and those along his route, the inhabitants of which had been, from early ages, noted for their turbulence and independence. Both Ghazi Khan and Ismail Khan were confirmed in their zemindaris, and proceeding on his march Nadir reached Larkana on the 14th of Zil Kaadeh.<sup>c</sup> Learning that Khudayar Khan contemplated a flight into Guzerat and Surat, he appointed Shahzada Nasrullah to represent him at that place, and with a flying column crossed the Indus on the night of Saturday 21st<sup>d</sup> Zil Kaadeh in pursuit of the Kalhora. He marched across country and arrived at Shadadpur in seven days. Here he was met by presents from Khudayar Khan accompanied by a letter, in which the Kalhora represented the difficulty of the direct road to Amerkot, distant 30 farsakhs, and recommending the adoption of another which passed through better country. But Nadir having ordered his troops to carry water and provisions with them set out on Saturday, the 25th of the same month (15th February), marched all that day and the whole of the next night, and at the third hour of the day following he arrived at Omerkot,<sup>e</sup> where he found the Kalhora on the point of continuing his flight, after he had sunk all his jewels and treasure

<sup>a</sup> 4th April 1738.  
<sup>b</sup> 29th October.

<sup>c</sup> 16th February 1740.

<sup>d</sup> 1st February 1740.  
<sup>e</sup> 8th February 1740.

in deep wells. The latter was recovered and taken possession of by the conqueror, who, taking the Kalhora as a prisoner left Omerkot on the 5th of Zil-Hajja and reached Larkana on the 16th of the same month (5th March). The country of Sind was divided into three parts. Tattah, with certain districts of Sind, was conferred upon Khudayar Khan and the title of Shah Kuli Khan was added to this gift.

Those districts in Sind that were continuous with Baluchistan were made over to Muhabat Khan, ruler of Baluchistan; while Shikarpur with certain villages situated in the upper part of Sind were conferred on the Khawarin of the Daudpatras, and khillats were bestowed on all. A report was received from Muhammad Taki Khan, Beglar Begi of Fars, that, on his way to Sind he had arrived in Kech and Makran, where Malik Dinar (Gichki), the ruler of that country, had shut himself up in his fort; a force despatched against him had been successful and had reduced him to obedience. Owing to the time of the year being unfavourable for the voyage, the ships had been sent back to Bandar Abbas, while he himself awaited orders in Kech Makuran. The Royal mandate was issued that as the operations in Sind had been brought to a successful termination, he should disband his forces and present himself at Court.

On the 18th Muharram 1153 A.H. (31st March 1740 A.D.) Nadir Shah set out for Kandahar and marched by way of Siwi, Shál, Foshanji, possessions of Baluchistan, upon his return. He arrived at the Chaman of Kuli, one farsakh distant from Nadirabad, upon his camp there upon the 7th Safar 1153 (24th April 1740), having left Nadirabad, and pitched to Kabul and India in the beginning of Safar of 1150.

Nadir Shah set out from Nadirabad on the 12th Safar (29th April) towards Herat which he reached on Saturday, the 10th Rabi-ul-awwal (28th May 1740).<sup>5</sup>

#### APPENDIX 6.

There is a story current among the Kasis of Quetta, and believed by them, that when Ahmad Shah became King of the Durrani, the valley of Shál formed a part of his dominions and the office of Arbab was conferred upon Muhammad Thaleb, Kasi. It is said that Mohabat Khan of Kalat was not well disposed towards the Kasi Arbab; and when the latter had occasion to go to Katir, a village about 12 miles west by north of Quetta beyond Balali, the Khan of Kalat having heard of it raised a body of horsemen, and *cheppood* Katir, slaying Muhammad Thaleb and his companions, about 30 or 40 in number it is said. The Kasi Arbab was engaged in collecting the revenue at the time and was quite unprepared for the attack. News of the occurrence was immediately despatched to Kandahar, and Ahmad Shah summoned Mir Mohabat Khan to Kandahar to explain how he came to slay the Shah's representative in Shál. There is a sannad issued to Arbab Thaleb Khan bearing the date 1162 A. H. (1748-49 A.D.) or two years before the accession of Mir Násir Khan I. The seal is illegible and may be either that of the Khans of Kalat, or of Ahmad Shah.

Kasis.  
Kamsa

#### APPENDIX 7.

The Mamasseni, the tribe to which these men are said to have belonged, is very numerous, and extends over a considerable tract of country in the vicinity of Gidan west of Surab. A section of this tribe also inhabit the hills north-west of Kharan, about the Koh-i-Sultan, and along the Helmand, north of the last-named group of hills. The Mamasseni are a branch of the tribe inhabiting the country north-west of Shiraz, at the present day in Persia. "Mamasseni, also called Shulistan, has 14 villages. The Shul or Mamasseni tribe, from which the district has its name, is divided into four branches, Rustam, Bekush, Dushmanziari and Javi, and numbers 5,000 families." (Note on the Kur River in Fars by A. Houtoum Schindler, Proc. R. G. S., Vol. XIII, No. 5, May 1891.) General Schindler also mentions the Bâseri tribe in the same vicinity. There is a portion of this tribe settled north of Panjgur where they have given their name to a small district which is known as Bâser, or Bâser (Nasal \*).

Mamasseni

#### APPENDIX 8.

The country in which the towns of Ganjâba and Siwi are situated was known at the time of the Arab invasion of Sind as Budhia. After Muhammad bin Kasim had received the surrender of the fortress of Neirun, he turned his attention to Siwasthan, then the headquarters of a division of Sind. His designs upon Siwasthan and upon Sind generally appear to have been greatly facilitated by the differences existing among the people and men in authority in that country. There was a large section of the populace who were Buddhists, and in Siwasthan the latter openly attempted to discourage the commandant of the fort of Siwasthan from doing his utmost to resist the enemy, while they made a voluntary submission to

<sup>5</sup> 22nd February 1740.

<sup>6</sup> Tarikh-i-Nadiri, in the Asiatic Society of Bengal's Library.

the invaders, and when the Governor of Siwasthan paid no attention to their faint-hearted counsels, they sent a message to Muhammad bin Kasim to say they had no part in the resistance of the governor, and that all classes of the population had deserted him and had availed themselves of the offers held out by Hujaj of pardon to all who submitted voluntarily.

Muhammad bin Kasim pitched his camp before the Registan gate of Siwasthan, the modern Sehwan, and after a brief resistance the Governor abandoned his post and fled into the districts of Budhia, which at that time was governed by Kakah bin Kotak (or Kotal) who resided in the town of Sisam at that time. Kakaraj, however, was at that time the capital of Budhia and it, with Siwi, is said to have been in the possession of the tribe known as Siwas.

The people of Sisam made a night attack upon the Arab forces but lost their way in the darkness, and returned unsuccessful to the town. Their ruler thereupon seized the opportunity of dissuading the Jat population from further resistance, and himself proceeded to the Arab camp and made his submission. He was received with kindness, and was instrumental in inducing the chiefs or governors of the neighbouring towns to make their submission. This district had, however, been subdued by Chach after his usurpation, as it is mentioned that the Governor of Siwasthan, Mitah by name, and Ahkam Lohana, Governor of Brahminabad, and Kakah bin Kabh, Ruler of the fort of the Siwas, with the tribe of Siwas whose capital was Kakaraj, had to be reduced by force of arms. And in the reign of Chandar, who succeeded his brother Chach on the throne of Sind, Mitah, the Governor of Siwas, then fled to Kanoj and induced the King of that country to invade Sind. The revolution that placed Chach the Brahmin in power was of a religious as well as political nature, and this would account for the dissensions to which, more than to the great qualities of their leader, the Arabs were indebted for their rapid conquest of Sind.

The Siwas of Kalat were probably descendants of Kakah, Governor of Budhia, and Kakah evidently was a family name in the early days when their ancestors held the country around Gandava and Siwi. No mention is again made of the Siwas; they undoubtedly became Mahomedanized, and probably, in a generation or two, claimed to be descended from one of the Conquerors of Sind, if not, from one of the companions of the Prophet. It would be interesting to know whether the name Siwas or Siwa, or Sew, is to be found in that country still.

When Nasiruddin Kabajah ruled Sind, seven Ranas were tributary to him; among whom was Khiah, son of Punnu, Chinu, in Dara Siwi, and also Chunu bin Dittah, residing at Bhag Nai. Siwi Dara is still a name often given to the country around Siwi, and Bhag is now a well known town in the vicinity of Gandabâh.

The Chinuh or Chinah are a tribe of Jâts who are mentioned as being settled in Budhia (the Kachhi) at the period of the Muhammadan invasion. They are now also to be met with at the mouths of the Indus in the Delta.

The Kachhi abounds with ancient sites; and its inhabitants, their tribal names (I mean those of the Jât population) and legends, are still unexplored.

#### APPENDIX 9.

Tahmas Khan, a subordinate Chief of the Sanatia clan of the Kakars, obtained distinction by his exploits against the Baluchis, between whom and the Kakars enmity had existed for a long time and had assumed the appearance of a national hatred. "Six thousand Baluchis were assembled at Shâl by the orders of Nusseer Khan, the prince of the Baluchis; and the Kakars, alarmed at this serious invasion, retired with their flocks to Dozhukh, a stony plain elevated on the highest part of the mountains west of Zawara, difficult of access in all places and on most sides surrounded by inaccessible precipices. The Baluchis, aware of the strength of this place on the side of Shawl, proceeded up the valley of Hunna, crossed the ridge of 68° longitude, passed through Zawara, and advanced up a narrow valley which afforded the only practicable route to Dozhukh. Tahmas Khan allowed them to advance till they reached the last steep ascent, when they were surrounded and cut off almost to a man, with Fauzil Khan, their commander."—(*Elphinstone's Kabul*.)

"Zawura, Tull and Chotiali may be considered one valley, widening at last into a plain. Zawura, the upper part of the valley, commences near Chupper."—(*Ibid.*)

The Akhund does not make any mention of this defeat of the forces of Nasir Khan I.

#### APPENDIX 10.

Another tomb (at *Bâgh in the Kachhi*) commemorates a famous politico-religious character put to death by Shah Zeman. The Wazir, Fati Khan, afterwards so notorious, then a mere youth, was a disciple of this worthy, as were a great number of the young Afghan nobility. The initiated formed a conspiracy to dethrone the King and assassinate his minister, Wafadar Khan, and to raise the Shahzada Shujah to the throne. The plot on the eve of accomplishment was revealed to the minister by one of the accomplices. Sarfaraz Khan, the father of Fati Khan, expiated the crime of his son, who escaped, and many of the conspirators were seized and put to death. A party was sent to Bâgh with orders to bring in the head of



the holy man, the father or patron of the treason. This event is worthy of note, as it was the proximate cause of the convulsions which have since desolated Afghanistan.—(*Masroor's Journey in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab.*)

Six of the Durrani and Kafilbesh lords, disgusted with the power and insolence of Wafadar Khan, had conspired to assassinate that minister, to depose Zeman, and place his brother Shujah on the throne. They at last excited Wafadar's suspicions and shortly after the whole plot was unexpectedly revealed. The principal conspirators were Sarfaraz Khan, Sardar of the Barakzais, Muhammad Azim Khan, head of the Alekhozais, and Amir Arslan Khan, head of the powerful Persian tribe of Jewan Shir. The conspirators were seized and put to death a short time after the Amin-ul-Mulk, and Hukumat Khan, Alekhozai, were also put to death.—(*Elphinstone's Kabul.*)

## APPENDIX II

When the British were brought into contact with the Kalat State, the ruler of the latter who was then upon the throne, Mir Mehrab Khan, was in a most unfortunate position for carrying on negotiations with them.

He was almost at open enmity with his Chiefs, who distrusted him owing to his having caused Sardar Mihnalla Khan, Raisani, to be murdered, and he was dependant upon men of the stamp of Mulla Muhammad Hassan, Naib of Gandava, Rahimdad, Khanazad, who was Naib of Shal, the Akhund Muhammad Sidik, and Muhammad Sharif, a Saiad of Mastung, besides a host of other less known individuals who were the instruments by which they carried out their designs. The first of those men, Mulla Muhammad Hassan, had to avenge the death of his father, who had been executed by the Khan. The Akhund had been intriguing with the Amirs of Sindh and latterly was in the pay, first of the Barakzai Sardars, and afterwards of Shah Shuja'a; and at one time it appears had even a prospect of securing the *gadi* for himself. The fourth, a Saiad, had been appointed to the Government of Harrand and Dajil, where his rapacity and exactions had so exasperated the inhabitants that they had risen and turned him out. He having sought refuge with the Sikhs, a force of the latter invaded Harrand and Dajil, in order, nominally, to reinstate the Khan of Kalat's authority, but in reality to annex those districts to the Punjab.

When in 1838 it had been determined to march troops into Afghanistan to support the cause of Shah Shuja'a-ul-Mulk, and to restore him to the throne of Kabul, it was necessary to secure the good-will of the Khan of Kalat, as the route from Shikarpur to Kandahar passed through his dominions, to secure the passage of the Bolan Pass, and also to obtain supplies *en route*.

In 1837, Captain (afterwards Sir) Alexander Burnes, while ascending the Indus on his mission to Kabul, had sent a complimentary letter to the son of Mehrab Khan, then residing at Gandava, and had received an acknowledgment of his letter and thanks in return. The mission to Dost Muhammad having failed, Captain Burnes retired from Kabul and ordered Lieutenant Leech, who had been deputed to Kandahar, to fall back upon Shikarpur, there to place himself under the orders of Sir Henry Pottinger, who was the Governor-General's Agent for Sindh. Lieutenant Leech having reached Shal, visited Mehrab Khan by invitation at Kalat. No good, however, resulted from this visit, and he left Kalat in a bad humour. Lieutenant Leech met Sir Alexander Burnes at Shikarpur later on, who had been deputed to collect supplies for the army then about to advance upon Afghanistan, and the latter addressed angry letters to the Khan of Kalat, who was most unjustly accused of seizing or destroying divers stores of grain collected by order of Lieutenant Leech for the use of the British army.

When Shah Shuja'a with Sir William Macnaghten and the British army arrived in Sindh, with the pretender to the throne of Kalat, Shah Nawaz Khan, also in their train, Mehrab desired to send envoys to express his good-will and submission, and Naib Mulla Muhammad Hassan contrived to have himself selected for this duty. Muhammad Hassan met Sir William Macnaghten at Bagh, and there represented his master as being full of evil intentions towards the Shah and the British, but that he (Muhammad Hassan) was most devotedly attached to the British.

He appears to have completely deceived Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes by his tact and address, and was received as a fast friend of the British, and was dismissed with honour to Kalat, where he represented to his master that the English were determined to ruin him (the Khan), and that his only chance of safety lay in open hostility. Having the seal of the Khan in his possession, he affixed it to letters written to the Dombki Chief and others of the predatory tribes directing them to harass the convoys of the army then passing through the Kachhi, to oppose the march of the troops, and to give the British officials all the annoyances in their power. Many of these letters fell into the hands of Mr. Ross Bell, the Political Agent in Sindh, and were received as conclusive evidence against Mehrab Khan, though he had had no hand in their issue, which was unknown to him.

From Quetta, Sir Alexander Burnes was deputed to Kalat to conclude a treaty with the Khan, with the view to keeping communications through the Kachhi safe and free. Sir Alexander Burnes was accompanied to Kalat by Saiad Muhammad Sharif, and there it was arranged that the Khan should proceed to Quetta to pay his respects to Shah Shuja'a. Mulla

Muhammad Hassan, Muhammad Sharif, and the other traitors worked upon the Khan by their representations that he would be seized and imprisoned at Quetta. Sir Alexander Burnes was induced to leave Kalat in advance of the Khan (with the treaty), who influenced by the traitors had become irresolute, and finally refused to proceed to the British camp.

Mohan Lal, Munshi of Sir Alexander Burnes, whom he had left to accompany the Khan to Quetta, also commenced to intrigue on his own account.

Meanwhile, Mulla Muhammad Hassan had determined to have Sir Alexander Burnes attacked and waylaid at night, and this was effected by agents of Saïad Muhammad Sharif. The envoy's party were molested and robbed of a sum of money, and the draft of the treaty agreed to, and signed by Mehrab Khan.

Mehrab Khan was now looked upon as an enemy, and it was resolved that no further friendly negotiations should be attempted, but that he should be punished when convenient.

Mulla Muhammad Hassan carried on secret correspondence with the British officials, and, at the same time, assured his master that his cause was hopelessly ruined, and that the only course left him was to raise his forces and oppose the British. The predatory tribes were in the meantime incited by Mulla Muhammad Hassan to plunder and annoy the British in every possible way. When Sir Thomas Wiltshire's Brigade was returning to India, the General was ordered to turn off from Quetta and attack Kalat. This place was taken by assault on the 13th November 1839, when Mehrab Khan with Sardar Wali Muhammad, the Mingal Sardar, Taj Muhammad, a Mingal Chief, and Shah Dost of Nal, were killed in the attack, after which the town and citadel were given over to plunder. Naib, Mulla Muhammad Hassan, the Saïad, Muhammad Sharif, with Akhund Muhammad Sidik and about 30 others were found in an upper chamber of the citadel. In the search made by the Political officers for documents, letters written by Muhammad Hassan to the late Khan were found, disclosing the means by which he had worked his master's ruin, and upon which he was arrested, and removed to Bhakar as a prisoner. The State jewels were also discovered in his house, and over 100 blank sheets of paper with the Khan's seal affixed to them, ready to be filled up at his discretion, and affording an illustration of the methods he had employed in creating a bad feeling between Mir Mehrab and the British officials. Shah Nawaz Khan was appointed Khan of Kalat with Lieutenant Loveday as Political Officer with him.

Before the attack on Kalat, the late Khan had sent away his son, Mir Muhammad Hassan, in the charge of Daroga Gul Muhammad, to Nushky, where he was pursued by Lieutenant Loveday, upon which the Daroga took his charge to Panjgur and eventually the refugees found a shelter with Azad Khan of Kharan.

The district of the Kachhi was taken from Kalat and annexed to the dominions of Shah Shuja'a, but was administered by British officials, and Harrand and Dajil were at the same time made over to the Sikhs.

Neither Captain Bean at Quetta nor Lieutenant Loveday at Kalat appear to have been well chosen for the appointments held by them, and the latter soon made himself highly unpopular with the inhabitants, and this with the improper conduct of the Munshi whom he had left in charge of Mastung was the primary cause of the Sarabán Sardars' rebellion against the authority of Shah Nawaz Khan.

The latter was led by Muhammad Khan, Shahwani, and the insurgents having summoned Muhammad Hassan from Kharan, proclaimed him as their Chief and made themselves masters of Mastung. From this place they advanced on Quetta, which in the meantime had been unsuccessfully attacked by the Kakar Pathans. The insurgents mustered about 1,000 men, among whom were 50 men furnished by Azad Khan of Kharan, who himself had accompanied the Khan. Dissensions broke out among them, and the forces of the insurgents broke up, and the young Khan was reconducted to Mastung by Azad Khan, and there the Daroga, Gul Muhammad, set himself to work to re-assemble the tribesmen, and raised about 1,000 or 1,500 men unmolested by the British forces in Quetta. The insurgents next marched against Kalat where Shanawaz Khan was doing his best to raise men to defend the capital.

Some Chiefs, such as Mir Bohir of Zehri and Kamal Khan, Iltazzai, responded to his summons, and the Kambarari and other levies also repaired to Kalat, but they were not firmly attached to the new order of things, the Iltazzai Chief's property in the Kachhi had been confiscated, and he was but a lukewarm adherent of Shah Nawaz. Lieutenant Loveday had about 40 sepoy of the Shah's service with him, disciplined men, under a native officer, and Mr. Masson, the celebrated traveller, also arrived in Kalat from Sonmiani just before the insurgents reached that place. The account by the latter (in his "Narrative of a journey to Kalat") shows that the efforts of the besieged were paralyzed by the divided counsels that prevailed and the lukewarm attachment of the garrison to their Khan. Instead of attacking the partisans of Muhammad Hassan, they allowed themselves to be shut up within the town by a force very little superior to themselves in numbers. After repulsing several attacks and sustaining a siege for a few days, Shah Nawaz Khan surrendered the town and citadel to his adversary and was permitted to depart unmolested.

Both Lieutenant Loveday and Mr. Masson, however, were taken prisoners and placed in confinement, and subjected to great indignities (according to Mr. Masson, and this is corroborated by native accounts). The insurgents marched again towards Mastung which became their headquarters, and from here negotiations were opened with Captain Bean at Quetta, and eventually Mr. Masson was despatched with letters to that officer and (fortunately, as it turned out for

himself afterwards) he was put into confinement upon his arrival, and kept a prisoner for some time, owing to which he was unable to return to the insurgent camp when his mission proved unsuccessful.

In the meanwhile General Nott's Brigade had arrived in Quetta on the way to Kandahar, and orders had been issued to that General to march to Kalat and re-occupy it. The Brahui leaders upon this made for the Kachhi, carrying Lieutenant Loveday, still a prisoner, with them. They were attacked by a detachment of troops at Dádar and were dispersed, but Lieutenant Loveday was murdered by one Kaissu, whom the insurgents had appointed to guard their prisoner. From the statement made by him, when he was apprehended and tried, it appeared that he committed the deed entirely upon his own responsibility, as the Khan and his Chiefs had left the field when they saw that defeat was inevitable.

Kaissu left Lieutenant Loveday to find the Khan and obtain orders, but as he was unable to do so he returned and resolved to slay his prisoner, and accordingly he killed Lieutenant Loveday with his sword as the British forces were drawing near. This man was brought in on the 13th October, after the Khan had been formally installed, and met with the reward his conduct had merited after trial in the Agency camp.

On the 3rd November 1841, the troops under Major-General Nott re-occupied Kalat, and Colonel L. R. Stacy, C.B., commanding the 43rd Native Infantry, who had volunteered to bring the young Khan in, was appointed to take political charge of Kalat.

This officer was a friend of Mr. Masson, and the latter gave him valuable information as to the men whom he might trust and who would also be useful to him. These men were summoned to him at Kalat and gave him great assistance in the negotiations with the Chiefs of the party of the fugitive Khan.

Communications having been opened with the latter, who was at Zidi in Jahalawán, the Mingal Sardar, Mir Isa Khan, and Daroga Gul Muhammad were deputed to meet Colonel Stacy by the young Khan. The meeting, it was settled, should take place at the village of Rodinjo, about 14 miles south-west of Kalat, on the road to Surab, and Colonel Stacy accompanied by only a few attendants, but without a guard of any sort, rode out and met the Mingal Sardar and the Daroga there. It was arranged that the Colonel should meet the young Khan himself at Zehri, and having returned from Rodinjo to Kalat, he set out again without a guard for Zehri on the 27th January, Mir Isa, the Mingal Sardar, having undertaken to guard him against violence. This Chief faithfully carried out his compact, and throughout the negotiations his influence was always exerted to smooth away difficulties as they arose, and to allay the suspicions of the Chiefs with the young Khan.

A very interesting account is given by Colonel Stacy in his account of the negotiations, printed afterwards for private circulation. And his unvarying courtesy, and the evidence of his trust in them, was at length rewarded by the confidence he succeeded in inspiring in the minds of the wild mountaineers with whom he was dealing, and whom the Political officers had hitherto treated with great hauteur and reserve. It was due, apparently, to the great personal influence he rapidly acquired over the young Khan himself and his advisers that he was able to combat successfully the unceasing efforts made by Mir Azim, the brother of, and the Bibi Ganjan, the widow of, the late Khan, and by others of lower standing, to thwart the efforts that were being made to effect a peaceful settlement with the young Khan, so that either Mir Azim or Shahnáz, another time, might be raised to the *gadi* instead of the son of the late Khan.

These intrigues naturally caused wearisome delays, but Colonel Stacy's efforts were at last successful, and the young Khan was induced to visit Major (afterwards Sir James) Outram and make his submission. Mir Muhammad Hassan, son of the late Mir Mehrab Khan, was formally installed on the *gadi*, at Kalat itself, by Major Outram, at 4 p.m. on the 6th October 1841.—(Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XVII, new series—Colonel Stacy's narrative, "Whilst in the Brahui Camp, etc.,"—"Narrative of a journey to Kalat," by Masson, and a "Narrative of the march and operations of the army of the Indus, etc., during the Afghan Campaign," by Major William Hough.)

Exd.—B. M.

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